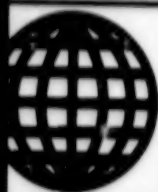


RS-UPA-90-071  
DECEMBER 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-90-071

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18 December 1990

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## Baltics

### Estonian Politicians Ranked in Opinion Poll

91UN0104A Tallinn PAEVALEHT in Estonian  
30 Aug p 3

[Article by Juhan Kivirähk: "Rüütel Stands Outside of Competition"]

[Text] A total of 989 people were polled in the popularity survey conducted August 9 to 15 by the Mainor public opinion research center

So much time has passed since the last popularity survey done by the Mainor public opinion research center that people are starting to ask if the darts of criticism flung by Toomas Alatalu have indeed put an end to this research. This, however, is not the case, the caravan moves on at a speed it was designed for—four surveys a year. The last of these was completed recently as 989 people were surveyed across all of Estonia. Of those surveyed, 61 percent were Estonians, 32 percent Russians, and 7 percent representatives of other nationalities. For educational and age demographics, the sample surveyed also corresponded to the population structure established by the census data. Obviously, our respondents are not members of a "club of wise men" that meets four times a year, but new individuals randomly selected for each of our surveys.

We must admit that, in the process of disclosing the results of our surveys, we have misused the terms "popularity" and "ranking"—hence also the criticism levelled at us. To rank, in order of popularity, all individuals engaged in politics in today's Estonia—deputies to the Supreme Soviet and the Estonian Congress, party functionaries, local administrative leaders, etc.—would not fit into the scope of one single survey. Based on the 65 names placed on the survey listing, we can only tell how these particular persons rank according to the size of their supporter base. It is entirely possible that some politician not included in this listing may have a bigger base of supporters than any of the top ten persons listed here. For example, this survey does not measure the support given to the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies Igor Gryazin, Mikhail Bronshteyn and Klara Hallik who, according to results of our last survey, enjoyed wide popularity among Estonians as well as other-nationals. This time we limited our survey to the politics being practiced in Estonia alone, with the objective of evaluating these individuals who participated in the late spring and early summer sessions of the Supreme Soviet and the government.

The ranking method is also not absolute. In the tables that follow, the ranking is based on the relative strength of support. We are not going to determine whether

Yarovoy, with 32 percent votes for him, and 45 percent votes against him, is more popular than Malkovskiy, with 31 percent for and 22 percent against (who, incidentally, is not known to 23 percent of the respondents). We merely state the fact that, based on their activity, the individuals listed have earned the support or opposition of a certain portion of the population.

It is well known that to govern means to incur dissatisfaction. Therefore, it is also not surprising that the support base for both the Supreme Soviet and government leaders went down by approximately 10 percent. Only Arnold Rüütel has retained his previous popularity among Estonians. Of the government members, the only one who has improved his standing by a few percentage points is Olev Laanjärv, Minister of the Interior (and that among both Estonians and the other-nationals).

The survey reveals, however, that popular dissatisfaction does not stem from governing as much as it does from the activities of those who are in opposition with the government. To determine whose supporter base, among Estonians, has diminished most, names such as Tunne Kelam (-28 percent), Trivimi Velliste (-26 percent), Mart Laar (-22 percent), Kaido Kama (-21 percent) and Illar Hallaste (-20 percent) emerge. A common denominator for all of these can obviously be found by any newspaper reader who follows the political scene.

In summary, it is these changes in the ratings of Estonians that account for the shifts in overall support, while the ratings of other-nationals have become uniformly more critical of all those listed. The ratio of those, among other-nationals, who are not familiar with Estonian politicians, is still quite large. In the tables that follow, we are listing our survey results separately for Estonians and for other-nationals. The "TOP TEN" listing obtained from this survey, based on the ratings of the entire population, would look like this:

		Supporters (percent)
1.	Arnold Rüütel	80
2.	Marju Lauristin	68
	Edgar Savisaar	68
4.	Indrek Toome	65
5.	Endel Lippmaa	62
6.	Enn Põldroos	60
7.	Tiit Made	58
8.	Lennart Meri	57
9.	Olev Laanjärv	56
10.	Rein Otsason	55
	Vaino Väljas	55



## Support Rankings of Politicians

Among Estonians				
	Support fully/Tend to support	Tend not to support/Fully opposed	Not familiar with	
1.	Arnold Rüütel	96	2	0
2.	Marju Lauristin	88	5	0
3.	Endel Lippmaa	85	2	2
	Edgar Savisaar	85	7	0
5.	Enn Põldroos	82	3	2
6.	Tiit Made	81	4	0
7.	Indrek Toome	79	7	0
8.	Lennart Meri	78	3	3
9.	Olev Laanjärv	74	2	8
	Ülo Nugis	74	5	2
11.	Enn Leisson	73	8	1
12.	Rein Otsason	72	6	1
13.	Siim Kallas	70	4	4
14.	Vaino Väljas	63	12	1
15.	Rein Veidemann	62	2	10
	Paul-Erik Rummo	62	4	4
17.	Ülo Vooglaid	61	1	11
	Ivar Raig	61	3	10
	Vello Põhla	61	4	7
20.	Lepo Sumera	60	2	7
21.	Ignar Fjuk	58	4	12
22.	Mikk Titma	57	11	3
	Jaak Allik	57	11	4
24.	Andres Tarand	55	2	16
25.	Siiri Oviir	53	3	16
26.	Mart Laar	52	12	10
27.	Enn Tarto	51	7	9
	Enn-Arno Sillari	51	15	3
29.	Jaak Jõerüüt	50	3	12
30.	Mario Kivistik	47	4	13
	Lagle Parek	47	17	11
32.	Illar Hallaste	45	8	17
	Tunne Kelam	45	25	6
34.	Vello Lind	41	8	15
35.	Ülo Uluots	40	8	13
	Trivimi Velliste	40	22	11
37.	Jüri Raidla	39	2	21
38.	Toomas Frey	37	3	26
39.	Raivo Vare	36	1	22
40.	Tiit Vähi	35	3	21
41.	Jaak Tamm	33	3	24
42.	Toomas Sõmera	30	3	24
43.	Jaak Leimann	29	2	31
44.	Andres Ellamaa	28	1	31

Among Estonians (Continued)

	Support fully/Tend to support	Tend not to support/Fully opposed	Not familiar with	
45.	Arvo Kuddo	26	6	25
46.	Kaido Kama	25	37	10
47.	Rein Miller	24	4	32
	Ants Laos	24	10	26
49.	Eve Pärnaste	23	10	32
50.	Rein Loik	20	2	33
51.	Artur Kuznetsov	18	14	43
52.	Gennadiy Golubkov	17	19	38
53.	Aleksandr Sikkal	12	1	51
54.	Oleg Gogin	11	23	42
55.	Lembit Annus	8	66	11
56.	Arnold Sai	5	81	8
57.	Vladimir Malkovskiy	4	48	28
	Pavel Panfilov	4	76	10
59.	Sergey Petinov	3	37	40
	Vladimir Lebedev	3	50	29
	Nikolay Aksinin	3	51	34
62.	Aleksandr Gusev	2	47	35
63.	Igor Shepelevich	1	70	19
	Vladimir Yarovoy	1	92	4
	Yevgeniy Kogan	1	95	2

Among other-nationals

1.	Arnold Rüütel	54	24	5
2.	Vaino Väljas	43	15	8
3.	Indrek Toome	42	16	16
4.	Edgar Savisaar	39	34	6
5.	Marju Lauristin	36	35	9
6.	Jaak Allik	33	10	29
7.	Vladimir Yarovoy	32	45	9
8.	Vladimir Malkovskiy	31	22	23
9.	Enn-Arno Sillari	30	12	28
10.	Rein Otsason	28	12	27
	Mikk Titma	28	22	24
12.	Olev Laanjärv	27	5	44
	Pavel Panfilov	27	29	22
	Igor Shepelevich	27	32	21
	Yevgeniy Kogan	27	50	8
16.	Gennadiy Golubkov	25	9	36
	Endel Lippmaa	25	12	35
	Vladimir Lebedev	25	14	30
	Enn Põldroos	25	16	33
	Aleksandr Gusev	25	20	29
21.	Lennart Meri	23	8	43
	Ülo Nugis	23	15	30
23.	Artur Kuznetsov	21	9	41

Among Estonians (Continued)				
	Support fully/Tend to support	Tend not to support/Fully opposed	Not familiar with	
24.	Tiit Made	20	34	20
25.	Rein Veidemann	18	11	40
26.	Enn Leisson	17	14	43
27.	Lembit Annus	16	21	39
28.	Siiri Oviir	15	4	62
	Sergey Petinov	15	18	40
30.	Siim Kallas	14	8	47
31.	Vello Põhla	13	4	56
	Ignar Fjuk	13	7	55
33.	Raivo Vare	12	4	57
	Mario Kivistik	12	5	54
	Oleg Gogin	12	14	39
36.	Ulo Vooglaid	11	3	59
	Ivar Raig	11	4	60
	Jaak Tamm	11	4	57
39.	Paul-Eerik Rummo	10	4	58
	Vello Lind	10	4	58
	Lepo Sumera	10	4	58
	Toomas Frey	10	6	57
	Jüri Raidla	10	6	57
	Illar Hallaste	10	8	53
	Nikolay Aksinin	10	20	45
46.	Jaak Jõerüüt	9	3	63
	Andres Ellamaa	9	3	66
	Tiit Vähi	9	3	58
	Andres Tarand	9	5	60
	Arnold Sai	9	29	37
51.	Ulo Uluots	8	5	58
	Mart Laar	8	11	55
	Lagle Parek	8	18	49
54.	Jaak Leimann	7	4	64
	Eve Pärnaste	7	5	65
	Enn Tarto	7	8	62
	Tunne Kelam	7	16	52
	Trivimi Velliste	7	18	53
59.	Toomas Sõmera	6	3	65
	Rein Loik	6	3	65
	Ants Laos	6	5	65
62.	Arvo Kuddo	5	8	62
63.	Aleksander Sikkal	4	3	66
	Rein Miller	4	4	66
	Kaido Kama	4	16	54

# Opinion Poll Results on Estonian Independence

91UN0228A Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian  
15 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by Juhan Kivirähk: "Public Opinion About Estonian Independence"]

[Text] Other-Nationals Also Favor Splitting From the Soviet Union

An opinion poll about Estonia's political status was carried out this June by the Mainor public opinion

research center and the Finnish Gallup Oy at the request of the newspaper AAMULEHTI. Now that the client has published the results obtained, we are also free to review them. However, since our readers are used to getting information that is more current than the data gathered three months ago, we posed the same questions in our survey conducted at the end (22 to 29) of August.

Principal question:

(Table 1) In Your Opinion, What Kind of Political Status Should Estonia Be Pursuing?

	Finns(%)	Estonia as a whole (%)		Estonians (%)		Other-nationals (%)	
	June	June	Aug	June	Aug	June	Aug
1. Maintain Status Quo as a Socialist Union Republic	3	5	3	1	0	10	6
2. Become a State of the SU with More Autonomy Than Now	8	10	6	1	1	24	14
3. Become an Independent State in Close Economic, Political and Military Cooperation with the SU	23	21	24	12	10	36	45
4. Become a Fully Independent State, Not Dependent on the SU	57	57	60	83	83	18	22
5. Cannot Tell	9	7	7	3	6	12	13

We can see that looking at Estonia as a whole, the opinion about its political status runs very close to that of the Finns. Within Estonia, however, clear differences emerge between Estonians and other-nationals—the support of the latter to obtaining independence is considerably weaker than that of Estonians. It is significant to note that whenever specific mention is made of independent Estonia's possible relations with its great neighbor to the East, the attitude of other-nationals becomes considerably more tolerant—provided that the economic, political and military cooperation with the Soviet Union continues. For example, the survey conducted in May did not specify independent Estonia's possible

relations with the Soviet Union and only 26 percent of other-nationals supported independence for Estonia at that time. The supporters of complete independence numbered about the same in the current survey. The shifts in the position of other-nationals toward supporting independent statehood are undoubtedly also due to the visible deterioration of the Soviet federation.

The people of Estonia understand quite clearly that neighbors cannot be picked, and that living in the proximity of a super-power inevitably puts us into its sphere of interest and influence.

(Table 2) What Would Be the Most Likely Future Political Status of Estonia?

	Finns (%)	Estonia as a whole (%)		Estonians (%)		Other-nationals (%)	
	June	June	Aug	June	Aug	June	Aug
1. Will Retain Current Status as a Socialist Union Republic	8	5	4	3	3	10	6
2. Will Become a Republic of the SU with More Autonomy Than Now	26	13	12	9	6	20	21
3. Will Become an Independent State in Close Economic, Political and Military Cooperation with the SU	35	40	42	42	45	37	39
4. Will Become a Fully Independent State, With No Dependence on SU	19	22	22	29	28	12	12
5. Cannot Tell	12	19	20	17	18	21	22

We note that these replies are by no means optimistic, nor do they coincide with those given about the status anticipated. The notion that future collaboration with the Soviet Union is inevitable is shared by the majority of those surveyed. However, only 16 percent of the

respondents (27 percent of other-nationals) see Estonia as a component part of the Soviet Union, even in the future. Projections of Finns about the probable political status tend to coincide rather with the opinion of other-nationals than with that of Estonians.

In this connection, it may be useful to remember the suggestion made by Tõnu Kõrda that calls for putting independence on the agenda as part of the friendship and collaboration agreement with the Soviet Union. By the way, the feasibility of this is also borne out by results of the public opinion research. In the June survey conducted by Mainor, concluding such an agreement was supported by 62 percent of Estonians and 46 percent of other-nationals, with only 9 percent of Estonians and 8 percent of other-nationals opposed (the rest answered

"cannot tell"). It is significant to note that, at the same time, 80 percent of Estonians is opposed to military cooperation with the USSR, and dismiss the possibility of having any "agreements for bases."

Finally, let's take a look at what kind of target dates for reaching independence for our state are supported by the public opinion in Finland and in Estonia. The question posed was:

(Table 3) When Will Estonia Become Independent?

	Finns (%)	Estonia as a whole (%)		Estonians (%)		Other-nationals (%)	
	June	June	Aug	June	Aug	June	Aug
1. Within a Year or Two	13	28	17	38	23	13	9
2. Within Five Years	35	32	38	32	40	31	35
3. By the End of 1990's	31	16	17	15	17	16	16
4. After the Year 2000	11	5	6	4	5	7	8
5. Never	4	3	4	1	2	7	8
6. Cannot Tell	7	15	18	9	13	26	24

Over the summer, the target date for independence in Estonia has slipped a little beyond the next few years, but most respondents, both in Finland and in Estonia, believe that it will come about within this decade.

The summary sounds optimistic: the majority of all nationality groups in Estonia not only hopes, but also believes that, in the new millenium, they themselves and their children will be living in an independent Republic of Estonia, that is no longer part of the Soviet Union. The situation is pretty much the same as seen from the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland.

The joint research also contained questions as to who would be regarded some of the more significant collaborating partners in the economic and cultural matters. We will be dealing with replies to these questions another time.

### Estonian Parties Sign Cooperation Agreement

91UN0228B Tallinn PAEVALEHT in Estonian  
20 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed item: "Statement Released About the Meeting of Individuals Representing Estonia's Parties"]

[Text] The undersigned representatives of Estonia's political parties are convinced that democracy is not possible without a multi-party system. Parties organized around certain programs are capable of proper political dialogue and collaboration. The notion of a struggle between the parties is more of a journalistic myth than a fact of today's political scene in Estonia. The parties are, in principle, ready for consultation and collaboration among themselves on all matters of economy and politics, both external and internal. In fact, they have started this collaboration already.

Tallinn, 18 September, 1990

Kersti Kracht, Ants Veltson—Estonian Entrepreneurs Party

Kaido Kama, Andres Heinapuu—Estonian Conservative People's Party

Kalle Jürgenson, Toivo Jürgenson—Estonian Christian Democratic Party

Illar Hallaste, Mart Laar, Trivimi Velliste—Estonian Christian Democratic Union

Paul-Eerik Rummo, Jaak Jõerüüt—Estonian Liberal Democratic Party

Ivar Raig, Liia Hänni—Estonian Agrarian Central Party

Eve Pärnaste, Jüri Adams—Estonian National Independence Party

Mario Kivistik, Alo Merilo, Ain Pajumäe—Estonian Green Party

Marju Lauristin, Ulo Kaevats, Peeter Vihalemm—Estonian Social Democratic Party.

### Estonian Committee Lists Government-In-Exile

90UN2863A Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian  
10 Jul 90 p 3

[Announcement from the Press Committee of the Estonian Committee: "Acting President Names New Government"]

[Text] Estonian media in exile announces that Heinrich Mark, prime minister of government of the Republic of Estonia, acting as president, has on July 20, 1990 named a new government of the republic, in accordance with a proposal made by deputy prime minister Enno Penno.



Part of the new government are Olev Olesk, foreign minister and bank vice president; colonel-lieutenant Jüri Toomepuu, minister of war; and Ants Pallop, minister without portfolio—all from the United States. Professor Jaan Timusk, minister of highways, is from Canada. The rest of the government members are from Sweden: Arvo Horm, minister without portfolio; Aino Lepik von Wiren, minister of justice; Peeter Luksep, minister of finance; Aksel Mark, minister of the interior; Mihkel Mathiesen, minister of economic affairs; Ivar Paljak, minister of social services; Helmut Talts, minister of agriculture; and Johan Ungerson, minister of education. Secretary of state is Katrin Kyman-Metcalf. It is noted that the new membership of the government has become younger, compared to the previous one, it also has a wider political base.

The Government of the Republic of Estonia in exile is one of the means of preserving the continuity of the Republic of Estonia. The Western states recognize the diplomatic delegations of the Republic of Estonia, but not a government based abroad.

The fact that there is a government of the Republic of Estonia in the free world has a symbolic significance, primarily. It is wished that in the same symbolic manner, the mandate of this government will some day be transferred to a legitimate government of Estonia formed within the territory of the Republic of Estonia.

#### **Estonia's Presidium Protests Deputy's Speech**

91UN0257A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 11 Oct 90 p 1

["Statement of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia"—SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA headline]

[Text] On 3 October 1990 at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session, V. Lebedev, deputy of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet, set forth on behalf of a group of deputies of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet, their positions concerning the scheduled measures pertaining to the defense of Estonia's economic independence and also appealed to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet and a number of local soviets of the RSFSR to prevent the conclusion of direct agreements with the Republic of Estonia.

The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium confirms that for the real creation of a common market it is essential first and foremost to create truly sovereign states with their own internal markets protected by a system of economic measures, including the establishment of economic borders. This view is shared both by the governments of the Baltic states and the representatives of a number of republics of the Soviet Union who participated in the second Tallinn meeting this September.

The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses bewilderment in connection with the fact that V. Lebedev's speech questioned the self-sufficiency and independence of the actions of the leaders of Russia, Leningrad, and Leningrad Oblast in the establishment of treaty relations with the Republic of Estonia. In addition, charges were leveled at Russia's leaders that they were negotiating with Estonia on the beginning of the division of the country behind the Russian people's back.

The constant endeavor of some deputies of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet to see each decision made by the republic leadership as a political action aimed against the indigenous population of the republic and intended to intimidate people and force them out of Estonia cannot fail to be a cause for regret.

The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium emphatically condemns the latest attempt of a group of deputies to connect the process of economic and political transformations in the republic with interethnic relations. The proposition concerning the inevitability of interethnic clashes contained in the appeal expressed in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet cannot be seen other than as a political provocation.

The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that the group of deputies on whose behalf V. Lebedev spoke is in fact calling for a halt to the process of establishing equal, good-neighbor contractual relations between republics and regions of the USSR and the Republic of Estonia.

The Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium declares also that the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet has not granted the group of deputies, on whose behalf V. Lebedev spoke the authority to conduct official negotiations at interstate level.

[Signed] A. RUUTEL, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia

[Dated] Tallinn, 9 October 1990.

#### **Estonian Deputy Attacks Presidium's Protest**

91UN0257B Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII  
in Russian 12 Oct 90 p 1

[Speech by Deputy V. Kuznetsov under the rubric: "At the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia:" "Response to the President;" first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Yesterday the republic's mass media publicized a statement by the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia which made a negative evaluation of the speech by V. Lebedev, chairman of the Inter-Regional Council of People's Deputies and Working People's Delegates, in the Russian parliament. And already this noon, at the next sitting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet session, Deputy V. Kuznetsov spoke on behalf of four groups of

deputies ("For Equal Rights," "Virumaa," "Communist Faction," and "Cooperation"). We publish his speech below.

Esteemed Supreme Soviet!

We have today familiarized ourselves with the statement of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia published in the newspapers.

It should be noted that once again this document was also adopted in haste, unfoundedly and unilaterally, without even consulting with representatives of the Inter-Regional Council of People's Deputies and Working People's Delegates of Estonia and the four parliamentary groups of deputies in accordance with whose decision a delegation to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet was formed and dispatched for consultations with its deputies and leaders.

The endeavor to portray the consultations in Moscow as an attempt by Vladimir Lebedev and a "group of deputies" to arbitrarily conduct unilateral negotiations at interstate level, which the statement maintains, is a most flagrant and deliberate distortion of the facts. Just as groundless are the statement's other propositions also. We reserve the right to respond to it in detail, but are obliged to make a brief response already today and to insist that it be published in all three newspapers which carried the statement of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia.

We view it primarily as an act confusing the public of the republic and other countries and an action knowingly designed to exacerbate the already extremely serious situation brought about by the increase in prices and the establishment of an economic border. The purpose of the statement, in our view, is to distract the attention of the Estonian people from the so unpopular measures and channel their discontent against the deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet, public organizations, and the strata of the population which disagree with the actions of the Republic of Estonia Government and the Supreme Soviet. And thereby excuse the crisis in which Estonia and all its inhabitants find themselves. This is why the statement flagrantly and arrogantly distorts the intentions and actions of representatives of the Russian-speaking population.

If not everything, then, a very great deal has been done in the past two years in the republic to bar admittance of virtually half the population of Estonia to participation in political life and to deprive it of political and civil rights. But we have always maintained and say now that such hopes are senseless. Do not decide for us, decide together with us. This is our demand, and we will defend it. Defend it honestly and plainly. And there should be no recourse to insinuation and the defense of the leadership of Russia, Leningrad, and Leningrad Oblast allegedly insulted by V. Lebedev.

The candid words spoken from the rostrum of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet encountered the deputies' understanding. And we are sure that upon discussion of a treaty with Estonia they will know how to include in it propositions to safeguard the interests and rights of the nonindigenous population. It is senseless to maintain that we are opposed to such a treaty and to friendship with Russia and the other republics. We assure you that we support treaties inasmuch as they alone can ensure normal living conditions, in accordance with international norms, for the hundreds of thousands of non-Estonians.

And, finally. We sincerely aspire to prevent an exacerbation of events and interethnic clashes. We have been warning of the reality of this. But the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia views these warnings as provocative. But this is what Udo Khelme, member of the Defense Commission, declared yesterday in Narva. This was how Estonian Radio broadcast his words, in any event: "Unless Narva bows to the decision on the establishment of an economic border, it could lead to interethnic clashes and bloodshed."

How should we view these words? Is this not blackmail, is this not a provocation and an attempt to intimidate all the inhabitants? Some people, evidently, are simply incapable of attracting the West's attention to Estonia without blood. We will do everything to prevent such a development of events.

We consider the statement of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia, prepared behind the back of the Supreme Soviet deputies, to be extremely improper. Its adoption in secret from us is one further piece of evidence of the reluctance of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Estonia to conduct an open, honest, and respectful dialogue with organizations representing the Russian-speaking population.

#### **Estonian Independence Talks Continue**

91UN0256B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 17 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by A. Birov: "From Consultations—To Negotiations and Treaties"]

[Text] Moscow, 16 October—Consultations continue. Negotiations have not yet begun. The signing of a treaty has been postponed until next week.

On 16 October the scheduled round of consultations took place between delegations of the USSR and the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviets, within the framework of preparation for bilateral negotiations on restoration of the state independence of the Estonian Republic. Advig Kiris headed the group of experts from the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet, which also included people's deputies and members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Klara Khallik and Tiyt Kyabin, Minister Artur Kuznetsov, and Erik Truuvali. As before, the working group of experts from the USSR Supreme

Soviet was headed by Yuriy Tikhomirov. Also present at the start of the meeting was Nikolay Gritsenko, leader of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation on negotiations with the Estonian Republic, and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Issues of Labor, Pricing, and Social Policy.

At the beginning of yesterday's discussion, Yu. Tikhomirov informed the Estonian side that the day before, 15 October, an exchange of views took place with Margarita Chernogorova and Valeriy Novikov, representatives of the Interregional Council of Deputies and Workers of Estonia, who expounded the position of their Council.

The experts then spent about three hours discussing issues related to the legal status of citizens, and social, political, and ethnic rights, which had been examined as well at the previous meeting. Some degree of mutual understanding between the sides was achieved, but it is still too early to say that a significant step forward has been taken on the path towards negotiations themselves, which were cut off the beginning of September. We recall that, according to the organizational plan and scheduling of negotiations between the USSR and the Estonian Republic drawn up jointly by delegations of the USSR and Estonian Republic Supreme Soviets on 23 August of this year and signed by the two delegation leaders, Nikolay Gritsenko and Yulo Nugis, at the end of the first negotiating round, there was to have been drawn up by 18 October 1990—i.e., by tomorrow—a conceptual draft treaty on relations between the USSR and the Estonian Republic, and this was to have been presented to the USSR president and the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet. But as we see today, such a draft treaty is not only not prepared, but the negotiations themselves have been suspended in view of the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation announced during the course of the third meeting, on 6 September, that it was not authorized to conduct negotiations, but only consultations. The course consultations have taken shows—alas—how very far away we are from the logical conclusion, earlier determined to be 18 October, i.e., from drawing up a draft treaty on relations between the USSR and the Estonian Republic...

Today we are able to assert only that, yes, consultations are in progress, that we are having an exchange of views, that the sides have somewhere in some ways managed to understand one another, but still we do not see specific, tangible results in the form of jointly coordinated documents, draft resolutions, protocols, etc., that might bring the delegations back to the negotiating table. All we have at the moment are the documents signed on 23 and 30 August of this year, in which the fact of negotiations is recorded. But we also recall the attempts to disown this fact, and so it is too early today to answer a question on the course of consultations, on when negotiations will again be renewed.

Nor is the signing of a treaty with the Russian Federation expected this week.

#### Narva Leader on Estonian Border Law

91UN0251A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Telephone interview with V. Chuykin, chief of the Narva City Operational Headquarters, chairman of the Narva City Soviet, by G. Komlev in Narva on 23 October 1990: "The Law Has Been Passed. The Initial Reaction of Narva."]

[Text] A meeting of the City Operational Headquarters was held on 23 October, the day after the Supreme Soviet of Estonia passed the Law on the Economic Border. Let us recall that this headquarters, endowed with most extensive powers, was set up by a decision of the Narva City Soviet session on 4 October for the event of the adoption of this law over the protests of official Narva. This event has now occurred.

Immediately after the meeting of the headquarters ended, we approached its chief, Chairman of the Narva City Soviet V. Chuykin with a request to discuss the decisions made. This is what he stated:

[Chuykin] Headquarters reviewed the just adopted law carefully and came to the conclusion that it cannot be enacted in our area because it is necessary to additionally coordinate a number of its provisions with the Union, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Leningrad Oblast Soviet, and the city soviets of Kingisepp and Ivangorod. Headquarters proposed that the adopted law be discussed at an extraordinary meeting of the Narva City Soviet session and that relevant assignments be given to the headquarters. Apparently, this meeting will be convened as early as this week. Meanwhile, in the exercise of powers delegated to it by the city soviet, headquarters instructed the Narva Department of Internal Affairs not to allow paramilitary and other formations to enter the territory under the jurisdiction of the Narva City Soviet without coordinating this with the city soviet, with a view to preventing possible incidents. To the same end, headquarters proposed that the chairmen of the city soviet and the city executive committee notify the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic of the decision made, and warn the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the commands of Eesti Kodukaitse [expansion unidentified] and other formations not to dispatch their units to these territories. I have already contacted Tallinn by phone regarding this issue. I very much hope that our future mutual relations with Toompea will be described by the notion of "a dialogue" rather than the word "conflict."

[Komlev] Will the gate on the Friendship Bridge, which was installed on the instructions of the Narva City Soviet, remain there?

[Chuykin] Yes, the order obligates the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate checkpoint to control inbound and outbound shipments of goods across the border between Narva and Ivangorod. The concept of an economic



border providing for strict inspection of the freight carried and the individuals accompanying it is quite acceptable to us.

[Komlev] As is known, officials in Tallinn have stated that one of the checkpoints will be located east of Ivangorod. Do you have information on the response of the Leningrad side to this step?

[Chuykin] I personally contacted the leaders of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet and the city soviets of Kingisepp and Ivangorod. All of them maintained in unison that this issue had not been coordinated with them in any way.

All we can do is throw up our hands in bewilderment: How can such irresponsible statements, which may only misinform public opinion and cause unnecessary complications in Estonia's mutual relations with its neighbors to the east, be made on behalf of the government of the republic?

#### **Narva Polled on Future in Estonia**

91UN0251B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Public Opinion"]

[Text] The poll, some of the results of which are now before you, was taken all over the republic between 8 and 12 September of this year by the Journalism Information Center. The data printed here reflects the opinion of the residents of Narva only.

A total of 245 people were polled in the city. The results of the poll may be considered representative, i.e., reliable, because the sociodemographic structure of those polled is in line with that of the city.

**What would you like the political future of Estonia to be?**

I want everything to remain as it is—10 percent

Economically independent within the Union—31 percent

Politically and economically independent within the USSR—28 percent

An independent state oriented towards cooperation with the USSR—6 percent

An independent state with Western orientation—7 percent

An independent neutral state—6 percent

Does not matter to me—4 percent

Ha. I to say—7 percent

**What is your attitude towards the actions of the leading organs of Estonia aimed at solving the problems of the republic?**

I trust them completely: on the economy—3 percent; on interethnic relations—1 percent

I trust them for the most part, with some exceptions: on the economy—12 percent; on interethnic relations—9 percent

I do not trust them, but I see that they mean well: on the economy—25 percent; on interethnic relations—19 percent

I absolutely do not trust them: on the economy—26 percent; on interethnic relations—33 percent

Hard to answer: on the economy—28 percent; on interethnic relations—30 percent

**If Estonia is to be an independent state, do you have grounds to be apprehensive about your future?**

Yes, to a great degree—29 percent

Yes, to some degree—39 percent

Not at all—13 percent

Hard to say—18 percent

**What will you do if Estonia becomes independent?**

Nothing, I will continue to reside in Estonia—71 percent

I will move to another Union republic—2 percent

I will try to go abroad to live and work—1 percent

At any rate, I will protest this decision as long as possible, and only if nothing works will I decide what to do—12 percent

Hard to answer—13 percent

Perhaps, anybody can comment on this himself.

#### **Sociopolitical Tensions in Narva Viewed**

91UN0259A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Paal, deputy of the Narva City Soviet, deputy chief of the Baltic State Regional Power Station: "You Do Not Play on a Minefield"]

[Text] What is the situation as of now? Initially, there was the vigorous consolidation of three Russian-speaking cities in northeastern Estonia. By now, they have been joined by three RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] localities—Ivangorod, Slantsy, and Kingisepp. The main pretext for consolidation is that together it is easier for them to protect against the policy of economic genocide that is allegedly pursued by the Estonian Republic. To my mind, the accession of the cities from the adjacent republic indicates that there are forces in the RSFSR as well that oppose any democratization, the restoration of a true picture of the historic past, and setting the further course of social development taking into account all realities of the present day... At a

joint session, they altogether went as far as to say that we were forming an interstate autonomous association of the six cities. It is absolutely absurd from the legal point of view. It is absolutely incomprehensible how this is going to be carried out. This serves to inflame certain passions in the city.

A meeting that was held showed quite clearly that nobody had properly read the draft law on the economic border.

The events of 2 September—an attempt to install border markers in Komarovka—greatly inflamed passions as well.

Unfortunately, the Russian community in Narva has no idea of the criticism the government and the Savisaar cabinet have drawn in the Estonian press. They still attempt to exploit an old propaganda thesis—that, supposedly, all Estonians have united; this is a pyramid of sorts headed by the People's Front and Savisaar, which cherish the bloodthirsty dream of dealing with the Russian-speaking populace. Fears of all kinds are blown out of proportion, and a pretext such as the economic border is used to the utmost.

I should also mention that, unfortunately, the government of the republic and the commissions and services that develop draft laws turned out to be amateurs in the sphere of social psychology. The first serious glitch occurred with the Law on Language; the lesson was not learned. Due to this, the provisions of the law on the economic border in the form it was submitted for both the first and second readings are received by the Estonian and Russian communities in absolutely different ways. The word "border" does not bother the Estonian side, whereas the other side does not even pay attention to the adjective "economic." A "border" is unacceptable to them in and of itself. As they understand it, a border may only be a state border, and this is why the draft ran into this kind of vigorous opposition.

As I see it, the goals of the creators of this draft law were noble. The republic is striving to restore its own statehood, and once the latter is accomplished the issue of the state border will arise abruptly. This law was developed with a certain allowance, with stages; the third stage envisages an advance provision: When we use it in the future we will close the economic border as the state border. If this was meant, it had to be explained. As it were, everyone read about the third stage, which mentions the inspection of individuals, baggage checks, customs checkpoints at the airports, railway terminals, and so on, and got terrified. This was a very serious political and tactical slip-up that afforded the other side an opportunity to exploit this.

After what I regard as an unprecedented decision at the city soviet session on 4 October, which provided in a preventive manner for the introduction of a state of emergency, the situation exacerbated even more. I would not have voted for the law on the economic border in the

form it was submitted, but I did vote against the resolution of the session that, as I see it, may put the city in a very difficult situation in the future. For this reason, a group of deputies who voted against it filed a written statement to the effect that we are not responsible to the city for the decision made.

A crisis situation might develop: They may embargo the deliveries of foodstuffs to the city from the other side, and from this side, in turn, they may embargo the delivery of electricity, and so on. Therefore, it may be conjectured that this resolution prepares the way for the secession of Narva from Estonia. The final points of the resolution are altogether amazing: To notify the USSR president and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation of the decision. There was not a word about the Estonian Government.

Following the adoption of this resolution, a meeting with Chairman of the City Soviet V. Chuykin was held at the Estonian Society of Narva, at which the following issue was raised quite sharply: What are the native inhabitants of Narva to do—and not necessarily Estonians; I know many residents who support the strategic objective of the state independence of Estonia. You are forcing them not to comply with the laws of the republic in which they live. A treaty between Russia and Estonia will be signed; there is no doubt about it. Narva will end up between them as between two millstones. It is clear that Russia will not recognize any piece of Estonia that breaks away.

Those who make such decisions now should give some thought to the status of those who want to live in keeping with the laws of the Estonian Republic. Unfortunately, so far nobody has given this any thought.

The main motive of a segment of city soviet deputies that enjoys support is: Narva does not get what it earns. Perhaps, this is correct. However, who in our country gets what he earns? As the president of the country himself admitted, six-sevenths of our industry works to benefit the military-industrial complex, and only one-seventh benefits us. Introducing the "one-for-one" principle under the circumstances means isolation and the instantaneous use of the potential of Narva. This path offers no prospects for the future. We will quickly bring about the ruin of the city in the absence of investment, putting it bluntly, by using solely the ash of the power stations. Unfortunately, many people fail to understand this.

What happens next in Narva? As a resident and a deputy, I do not think that it may come to serious clashes here, though there is no concealing that there are those here who are prepared to defend their future almost with their weapons at their sides. However, the issue may become much more complicated if the people of the republic and its leaders in the Supreme Soviet, the government, and influential public organizations fail to grasp one simple truth. Of course, it is possible to discourse somewhere in Otepää, Paide, or another locality in the center of the republic about the territories



we supposedly have across the river Narova, the territories we have in the area of Pechory, and the need to reclaim them, and so on. As I see it, we must appreciate the fact that the demographic situation in the republic has changed, whether we like it or not. It is no longer possible to change it in favor of a single-nationality republic by humane means. This is unrealistic. I came to a firm conclusion on the basis of conversations with my colleague-deputies who voted in favor of the harsh resolution: These people do so for the only reason that they have no guarantees for the future.

If Estonia were to resolve the issue of citizenship according to the zero variant and guarantee the rights of all citizens, it would at once take care of many issues and improve its standing internationally, within the Union, and at home. Of course, there is no concealing that ethnic traditions differ, and cultural standards differ on a massive scale; all of these need to be taken into account. However, the actual situation also needs to be taken into account. The demographic situation in Narva will still not change just because Estonia secedes. In this instance, some special programs for Narva need to be adopted, for example, with regard to the Law on Language. The source of tension will linger on until this is done...

Here is a simple example. As proposed by our national-radicals, migrants should leave the republic. I work at the Baltic State Regional Power Station and know how complex our cadre situation is and how sophisticated our equipment is. Let us assume that the people leave for Russia and the Ukraine, for their native parts. This issue immediately arises: Who is going to work at the power plants? As a specialist, I maintain that a stranger, even a knowledgeable engineer, will not be able to work at a power station right away. Several years are required in order to be brought up to speed.

I am afraid that very serious problems may develop unless this is understood. I am in favor of all influential social forces of the republic building a consensus, coming to a mutual understanding on the "Russian issue." The rights of the Russian-speaking populace must be guaranteed. A dialogue with the city, with the northeastern area is necessary. We should walk very carefully through the minefield that both sides have laid down.

**Latvia's 'Third Way' Group Chairman Interviewed**  
91UN0213A Riga LATVIJAS JAUNATNE in Latvian  
28 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Andrejs Voroncovs by Janis Goris:  
"There is No Independence Without Democracy"]

[Text] On the eve of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia, three political persuasions had come about—an orthodox, conservative one; the followers of the Independent Communist Party; and a group called "The Third Way." Andrejs Voroncovs, chairman of the "Third Way" democratic movement's Coordinators'

Council, expresses his thoughts on the "Third Way" and the NFL [People's Front of Latvia]:

[Goris] The essence of your movement, please.

[Voroncovs] To understand that, we must go back to the very beginning. Our movement has gone through several stages in a short time. It began on 15 February 1990 when several relatively young communists (30-35 years old) got together—or, as the newspaper YEDINSTVO christened us, "a group of young apparatchiks" (many of us were party officials who had been dismissed). We were dissatisfied with the situation on the eve of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia; we believed that a split would occur not into conservatives and democrats, but rather, according to nationality.

Our belief was that the Communist Party of Latvia under the leadership of J. Vagris, despite all its shortcomings, was a stabilizing factor in Latvia, for it included both Interfront and NFL members—representatives of various nationalities. In addition, there was a certain amount of dialog within the Party, which made it possible to avoid bloodshed.

During this first stage—until the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia—we wanted to preserve the center, to set the Gorbachev line, you might say, which in our opinion was being implemented by A. Gorbunovs and J. Vagris.

We worked out alternative drafts in which we gave up the goal of communism, and put forth the goal of personal free choice in all spheres of life. Many of our positions were also included in the drafts prepared by the Central Committee. We believed that at the 25th Congress, the Party must be completely revamped through democratization and debolshevization, thereby transforming it into a normal parliamentary party of the left.

Of course, we were not so naive as to not understand that a certain amount of discord would occur. Nevertheless we hoped that in the event of discord, it would be the adherents of both left- and right-wing extremism who would leave the party.

Unfortunately, in real life things do not always turn out the way they should. Most of the participants at the Congress were interested not in the drafts, but rather, in changing the leadership. The conduct of an aggressive majority that rejected the drafts presented by the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee forced us to join the cause of the Independent Communist Party of Latvia and leave the Congress.

[Goris] What other stages has your movement gone through?

[Voroncovs] The second stage—from the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia until the 28th CPSU Congress—might be called a period of waiting. We hoped that the 28th CPSU Congress would approve much more radical decisions to democratize the Party,

and would thereby also be able to influence the Communist Party of Latvia's conservative attitude. We could not exist as the democratic platform of the Communist Party of Latvia, for in our midst were also non-party people, Independent Communist Party of Latvia adherents, etc. Therefore, we decided to transform ourselves from a platform within a single party to an all-encompassing democratic movement that would be able to unite the nascent leftist camp. At this time we began organizing the Independent Center for Political Science; and during the third stage—the Interparty Club, which only now is beginning more dynamic activity. This began after the 28th CPSU Congress, when it became perfectly clear that it was useless to hope for major changes in the policies of the CPSU and Communist Party of Latvia. We gave up thoughts of becoming a party, of which there are so many in Latvia as it is. We came to the conclusion that, organizationally speaking, we must be a club—a political club that would unite those people who support the "Third Way's" idea of compromise within the leftist camp, and help new democratic organizations and movements. It was with this goal in mind that we organized the leftist round table in Jurmala at the end of September.

[Goris] What do you make of the NFL?

[Voroncovs] I do not want to be put in the position of making an assessment. Let me just make a few observations. It is commendable of the People's Front of Latvia to strive to include and voice the interests of all residents of Latvia, but in fact, for the most part it represents Latvians [proper]. Of course, that is not just the fault of the NFL; it is determined by concrete sociopolitical and historical conditions. Nevertheless, it must be said that the People's Front leaders are not very flexible. For example, they should more actively include specialists in the government—such as S. Dimanis—even though they have different political beliefs.

We value highly the role of the NFL in the national reawakening of the Latvian people, and its struggle against the previous regime and manifestations of totalitarianism. We will support all efforts toward the formation of a democratic Latvia. It is our belief that Latvia will be independent only when it becomes democratic. We believe that it is not possible to build an independent state using coercive methods or without achieving concord and national reconciliation. If that is not achieved, then Latvia's internal stability will always be threatened, for about half of its inhabitants will feel oppressed. Nor by any means will civilized states lend support to undemocratic governments. A certain degree of mistrust towards the People's Front results from the radicalism of some of the organizations within it that in our opinion try to implement only their own political ambitions.

[Goris] Please elaborate.

[Voroncovs] For example, the attempts to achieve its goals by a non-parliamentary path that circumvents the

Supreme Soviet. Everyone participated in the election of Latvia's Supreme Soviet, thus everyone has acknowledged its legality. Attempts to work against it or to form alternative power structures preclude a peaceful path to a democratic, legal, and independent state. It leads to chaos. In this regard, there is no difference between the [Citizens] Committee of Latvia [higher body of the Citizens Congress] and the USSR Citizens Defense Committee [Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Citizens and Constitutions of the USSR and Latvian SSR]...

[Goris] What is the most negative activity of the NFL?

[Voroncovs] Many people who have acquired power thanks to the NFL, compromise it with their neobolshevism. They do not implement the platform of the People's Front, but rather, try to satisfy their own personal ambitions and strive to derive the greatest benefit from their positions. They want to get out of a complex crisis situation with simplistic methods—where you need to apply a computer, they chop with an axe. It is they who exploit the national idea. What is saddest of all is that the NFL avoids or does not even try to openly criticize such people.

[Goris] What are you expecting from the Third Congress of the NFL?

[Voroncovs] The continued development of its democratic tendencies, which were included in the drafts of the Second Congress. Also, a concrete platform on dealing with the nationalities question. Hopefully, it will be a congress of people who understand that their organization is now in large measure accountable for the situation in the Republic. The NFL will now have to put the positions of its platform into practice. Many voted for change. If there is not any, they may slide into apathy, which in turn can lead to unforeseeable consequences, for silent waters are the most dangerous.

#### **Creation of Latvian Volunteer Law and Order Units Criticized**

91UN0213B Riga CINA in Latvian 26 Sep 90 p 4

[Article by V. Kundzins: "Time To Put a Stop to Things, or Bodyguards for Messrs Gorbunovs, Godmanis, Bisers"]

[Text] For some time now, in patent contradiction to Latvian Republic Council of Ministers Resolution No 6 "On Various Questions of Protecting Public Order" of 30 May 1990, an alarming trend that is churning up public opinion has been sweeping across the Republic. Having encountered no resistance from official institutions of power, the Citizens Committee of Latvia is energetically and with exaggerated fanfare restoring the *aizsargs*, with a structural makeup and ideological principles like those it had since March 1919. Now, simultaneously with this illegal process, a new rising tide in the organization of protectors of public order has begun. In his rejoinder in 21 August 1990 issue of the NFL

[People's Front of Latvia] weekly *ATMODA* entitled "Who Are We?" Viesturs Berzins, deputy chief of staff of the Special VUs (volunteer units) of the Republic of Latvia, explains: "Some time ago the staff of the Republic's volunteer guardians of the peace approved a resolution to organize special units of volunteer guardians of the peace... These units are not intended for carrying out the same tasks that up to now have been carried out by the so-called *druzhinniki*. The units are not subordinate to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and are not armed. The VUs are an organized force ready to work towards maintaining order in such places where special circumstances have arisen. Of course, this does not preclude VU members from participating on a day-to-day basis in the maintenance of order in their own rayons. Residents of Latvia should understand that they must comply with the instructions of VU members when they are carrying out their duties. If necessary, guardians of the peace have the right to use the communications facilities of institutions and establishments. Disobedience or resistance against representatives of the VUs is considered to be the same as disobedience or resistance against members of the militia. If necessary, the VUs have the right to detain violators of order."

Now, let us consider this for a moment and take account: The current reality is such that a resident of the Republic of Latvia may be detained by a militiaman, a *chekist*, a municipal policeman, an *aizsargs*, a *druzhinnik*, or a member of the VUs—how many sentinels does this make per person in the Republic of Latvia? For a democratic state, is this not just a bit much? And with our heads held high, and stubbornly proud pursed lips, are we not also marching toward a police state—something we are afraid to admit in so many words? Furthermore, considering the present dynamics of such activities, and the lack of any meaningful action on the part of the government, it is quite possible that tomorrow or the day after, yet another formation for the preservation of public order will appear, similarly equipped with the authority to detain, inform upon, and so on. Moreover, in these instances, any talk about the supposed "protection of public order as the primary function" seems to me to be merely illusory. It was the interview with the so-called VU leaders, broadcast by TV Latvia early in the evening of 1 September this year, that led me to such reflections. In it, very proudly and in one voice, they all maintained that these units are intended for "particular" and "special" tasks—take, for example, the protection of the government. But why not assign this highly professional task to, say, a special element of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, if our current government is indeed so afraid of the methods used in previous years to protect the government? It turns out that even the entourages of Messrs. Gorbunovs and Godmanis need their own special shock forces, or bodyguards maybe, just as is the case with the Citizens Committee of Latvia.

That the VUs have much more far-reaching goals and tasks of a higher order was confirmed in the 21 August

issue of "Atmoda" by the very same Viesturs Berzins, who answers the question he himself posits—"Who are we?": "With the election of the Seim and the *de facto* restoration of the Republic of Latvia—that is, once we have a legally created government, formed without the participation of foreign nationals or members of foreign military forces—it would seem that there will no longer be a need for VUs. Nevertheless, the work that went into the formation of these units will not have been for nothing. On the basis of these units, the government of the Republic of Latvia will be able to quickly create those institutions for the preservation of law and order that will be necessary to secure order both along the border and within the territory of Latvia."

Thus, the VUs are necessary as long as foreign nationals and members of foreign military forces reside in Latvia. In simple terms, this means—as long as citizens of the USSR who are not indigenous to Latvia live here; more explicitly—the migrants. There can be no doubt with regard to the army—as long as the Soviet Army remains in Latvia. Are these not the makings for a dangerous escalation of confrontation? Social and nationalities tensions in society are high enough as it is.

As for the period following the election of the Seim, the functions of the VUs will more than likely be those about which Rainis sarcastically wrote already at the beginning of the century:

"What we need now is peace, For we must get down to business. Let threats and shouts abate, We have had enough of struggle."

Indeed, business there will be—and plenty of it, economic and political. And the new masters will need guardians who are loyal.

In my opinion, it is high time we firmly put a stop to the trend of escalation in the establishment of "guardian" (in all its various sociopolitical derivatives) organizations—right now, during the second session of the Republic of Latvia's Supreme Soviet. For, again in the words of Rainis, we really must first and foremost, with the greatest expedience, "consider what to eat and what to drink, where to find another leftover farthing." Otherwise, "with an idea [alone], business could go bust," and none of us will be needed any more—neither for ourselves, nor for the future of Latvia.

#### Interest in Latvian People's Front Declining

91UN0213C Riga LATVIJAS JAUNATNE in Latvian  
No 37, 26 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by P. Grigulis: "Regress?"]

[Text] On 23 September, a conference of the Ludza rayon chapter was held in preparation for the Third Congress of the NFL [People's Front of Latvia]. The agenda included a report on the political situation in the Republic and the rayon, matters of alternative service, and the election of delegates. Conclusions: People's



Front activities have become passive; the rayon deputies are working without a program; the Council of People's Deputies must form a faction; it is imperative that the customs department be monitored; lads who refuse military service must be helped in handling formalities in connection with alternative service, etc.

There was a motion not to recognize October 7th (USSR Constitution Day), nor November 7th and 8th (73rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution) as holidays.

Of the 560 Ludza rayon people's front members, 140 were selected as delegates, although only 99 took part in the conference. There is regress in People's Front, and membership in the movement has decreased by half; moreover, most people's front members are of the older generation.

Emotions dominated at the conference. As usual, the rayon leadership received a dressing down. Only two or three suggestions were voiced, and one person submitted a people's front rayon chapter program of activities.

#### **Interfront Chairman Assesses Latvia's Political Situation**

91UN0213D Riga LATVIJAS JAUNATNE in Latvian  
5 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with I. Lopatin, chairman of the Republic Council of Interfront, by Juris Laksovs: "My Strategy Is Unchanging: Interview With Igor Lopatin, Chairman of the Republic Council of Interfront"]

[Text] [Laksovs] It is said that, just as the sun, every political movement has its dawn and its dusk.

[Lopatin] Yes, there was a time when the activity of our supporters had abated. That can be explained by fatigue resulting from general political tension. In addition, many were disenchanted, for they did not get the quick results from Interfront's activities they were expecting. The main reason was the victory of our chief political opponent—the People's Front—in the elections. But now, the goals of the platform of the peoples front members are as good as achieved, and this opens up broad opportunities for our organization.

[Laksovs] What were the results your followers were so impatient to see?

[Lopatin] We wanted complete implementation of our idea of total equality for all residents of the Republic. It is an essential prerequisite for civic harmony. Interfront has always maintained that the problem of civic harmony not be linked with national revanchism from one quarter or another that up to now has felt aggrieved.

[Laksovs] A "zero-option" for civic harmony?

[Lopatin] Precisely. Why, for example, does Interfront reject the radical ideas of the DNNL [National Independence Movement of Latvia]?—Because the adherents of

that movement wish to push us back into history, back to the "the period before 1940." But even now, most people understand that return is impossible.

In my opinion, the People's Front of Latvia has two paths. If this movement turns to the right and goes in the direction indicated by the DNNL, it risks losing the support of a large part of the inhabitants of Latvia. There would be much greater potential if the People's Front were to use its majority in the soviets to initiate the first step against the forces currently in opposition.

[Laksovs] How has the curve of Interfront support changed? In what regions of Latvia do you have the most followers?

[Lopatin] In the spring, our membership fell by 20-25 percent, but now it is gradually increasing. Our greatest support is in Riga, Latgale (the Interfront Coordination Council of Latgale was just founded in Rzekne), Ventspils, Liepaja... Jelgava...

[Laksovs] Aside from the organization of various campaigns, what occupies the minds of the Interfront leadership?

[Lopatin] Right now we are very busy preparing for the Third Congress, which most likely will take place at the end of November. In our opinion it will be a timely forum, where we will discuss the drafts of the new statutes, and changes in the declaration.

[Laksovs] Will the new declaration be more to the right or to the left?

[Lopatin] The political course will remain the same. We have no plans for any deviations. Nowadays, by the way, you cannot even understand, who are the rightists, and who the leftists. It used to be that anarchists were considered to be on the far left, while on the far right—monarchists and fascists. Here in Latvia, the sense has been reversed: Communists suddenly find themselves on the right, while those who support bourgeois democracy have correspondingly been shifted to the left pole. In the correct interpretation of the concept, we represent the leftist forces. We are now and will remain the allies of the Communist Party of Latvia. Like the Communist Party, Interfront supports republic sovereignty, but—lest we suddenly find ourselves up a creek without a paddle—we must remain within the USSR.

[Laksovs] You often use the word, "bourgeois"—is this in an expressively neutral, or negative, sense?

[Lopatin] In a negative sense. If capital is created at the expense of the exploitation of other people, then we cannot support this elite...

[Laksovs] But have not these 73 years of our history graphically proven that there has been an elite in what in your opinion is normal society, and that this privileged top has exploited the people even more mercilessly, more cynically?

[Lopatin] Can you name even one millionaire in our nation who has acquired wealth at the expense of the people?

[Laksovs] ??? Adilov, for example.

[Lopatin] He was a gluttonous thief. I could also name other large-scale swindlers. Among them, if you will pardon me—Brezhnev, who used his power in the interest of acquiring personal wealth. What is at fault here is personal character, not the system. For we have had honorable state leaders, too, such as Kosygin and Andropov.

When a state has an entire class of people who live at the expense of others, when the profits of capitalists do not correspond to the amount of work invested—such a system we cannot support. Once we introduce market relations, a class will form that owns everything, while the rest will have only the minimum for subsistence. That could lead to another social explosion. And why do they always succeed in lessening social tensions in Western democracies?—Only because they so efficiently adopted the social achievements that were created in our state.

[Laksovs] Let us change the subject. Tell me, have any investigators approached you regarding the incident at the Supreme Soviet building on 15 May?

[Lopatin] Me—no, for I did not participate in these activities. Nevertheless, we assumed responsibility. Many of those who gathered at the Supreme Soviet are our allies, and we always assume responsibility for our allies.

If on that day in May the delegation had been given the opportunity to submit its demands to the parliament, nothing of the sort would have happened.

[Laksovs] Do you ever ask for help from the armed forces as well?

[Lopatin] Yes—for the most part, help of a technical nature when facilities are needed for the organization of various activities.

[Laksovs] In your opinion, what accounts for the massive centrifugal current in the Soviet Union—the excesses of “certain nationalists” is no longer a serious argument.

[Lopatin] Now it is no longer a matter of certain isolated nationalist manifestations. Centrifugal processes began in the Baltic, and later on, in other republics as well. It is an inescapable disease. You know, during childhood everyone must suffer various diseases—mumps, chicken pox, and so on. Something similar is also happening in our nation. I believe that the absolute majority of republics that have been in the Union until now will remain in this community of sovereign states in the future, as well.

Look around, the political-meeting fervor in Latvia is already waning. In the end, collective concern about our daily bread will make us take the only correct path.

[Laksovs] Will there be centralized military machinery in this future community of republics you describe?

[Lopatin] Absolutely. I say this directly and categorically. Why must the armed forces be united?—First of all, it's cheaper that way. For example, if we were to form our own separate military...

[Laksovs] Would that even be necessary?

[Lopatin] My sentiments exactly. Is anyone preparing to attack Latvia?—For the foreseeable future, there is no enemy to be seen. But let us look at it another way: Can the Soviet Union find itself in the situation of having to defend itself? For now, such a possibility is a real one. Therefore, a professional, well-trained army is indispensable for our union as long as the possibility of military conflict exists in the world. But the call for the formation of republic armies—that is a position that will soon become unpopular, especially since the people supporting it have no professional understanding of military matters.

[Laksovs] What do you think—is a military coup in Moscow possible?

[Lopatin] No—not that there would not be an opportunity for one. At this time, there is no reason for one, and also—no future for one.

[Laksovs] Is the granting of presidential powers to Gorbachev in your opinion a positive step?

[Lopatin] There is a paralysis of power in our nation. Naturally, an organ must be created to prevent the grossest of offences. Just look at conflicts between nationalities that must be solved...

[Laksovs] By bringing in the tanks, right?

[Lopatin] Not with troops. The barrel of a machine gun is certainly not able to change the way a person thinks. The presence of weapons will harden a person even more.

[Laksovs] Why is Interfront so poorly represented in Parliament?

[Lopatin] Why so poorly? All the deputies of the “Equal Rights” faction were elected with the help of Interfront, although formally they are not members of our organization.

[Laksovs] Does everything that “Equal Rights” does correspond with the beliefs of the leadership of Interfront?

[Lopatin] Not always. I, for example, would handle a few matters differently. The tactics of the faction do not always correspond with our wishes, but the strategy is basically one and the same.



[Laksovs] One gets the impression that the leadership of the organization is intolerant toward "free thinking" recidivists among the ranks of its subordinates. This was evident in the affair with Tikhomirov, the former editor of the newspaper YEDINSTVO.

[Lopatin] It is not a question of free thinking. Tikhomirov did not propound any ideas especially particular to himself. He tried to isolate the newspaper from the Interfront Republic Council's sphere of influence, and that is his main offence. It is our only newspaper, in which we have invested so much effort... So after that he also changes his political colors—what of it?

[Laksovs] You lost the trial...

[Lopatin] In a material sense—yes. But ideologically we have achieved victory, for we saved the newspaper and got rid of the editor.

[Laksovs] To which political movements of Latvia belongs the future, in your opinion?

[Lopatin] For now, such a movement has yet to come about. It is possible that it will not be Interfront, nor a party, either. It will be a movement based in the first place on general human values and will defend the rights of the working people.

[Laksovs] In closing, a personal question: Is there any force that could change your conviction?

[Lopatin] My position is neither the result of volition nor ambition. I try to analyze the situation of change, and to modify my position in accordance with my own conclusions. In its fundamentals, my strategy is unchanging. Do not forget, I am a Communist with 34 years in the Party. I believe that idea of the Communist Party has not yet been exhausted; it is undergoing another cycle of tests. When it purges itself of all that is unclean and superfluous—humanity will arrive at this goal just the same.

#### Latvian Front's Shift in Position Viewed

91UN0281A Riga BALTIYSKOYE VREMYA  
in Russian No 43, 5 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Inta Upmacis, leader of the People's Front of Latvia, by Tatyana Andrianova; place and date not given: "From Centrist Positions to Radicalism"]

[Text] For Latvia, the name of Inta Upmacis is associated with the period of formation of the NFL [People's Front of Latvia]. What is the position of a leader of the front at present?

[Andrianova] Mr Upmacis, you turned down an offer to assume the post of deputy NFL chairman and withdrew your candidacy as a member of the board. What are the reasons for this decision?

[Upmacis] I have already said in an interview to the newspaper LATVIJAS JAUNATNE that this step is by no means a tactical or a strategic one. Incidentally, I was not the only one to stop being active in the apparatus of

the front. Many of the old leaders likewise do not participate in the work of the front as vigorously as they used to. This is natural; people get tired of continuously riding the crest of a political wave, all the more so because many are preoccupied with parliamentary work and hold other positions which likewise claim their energy and time. Besides, at present the NFL is not what it was two years ago. For example, at present I cannot clearly define the place of this organization on the spectrum of political life in our republic. Since it is so, I do not consider working in the apparatus of the front possible.

[Andrianova] Do you mean to say that the NFL no longer is the leading political force in Latvia?

[Upmacis] No, this has not happened yet. A trend to become introverted emerged at the congress. The radicals fought to establish the absolute uniformity of thinking and to obliterate all differences between the NFL and the DNNL [National Independence Movement of Latvia] program, the policies of the Congress of Citizens. The following argument sounded frequently in the hall—this is a Congress of Citizens policy. If someone is against this he is a traitor.

I think the NFL is abandoning its centrist positions, and the Kezbers party will most likely take these positions. After all, its program is essentially a copy of the second NFL program. The Third NFL Congress did not adopt a new program, making only editorial revisions, but this is not the point. All of Latvia heard the congress adopt absolutely horrible, illiterate resolutions on "re-immigration" and on "acknowledging the colonization of Latvia to be a crime against humanity." These planks were subsequently omitted from the program, but so far only those present in the hall are aware of it. It is possible that such a deviation from centrist positions occurred due to the intellectual potential of the front largely migrating to the Supreme Soviet; replenishing it in the foreseeable future is going to be quite a problem.

[Andrianova] You have contacts with the regions of our republic. Tell me whether, in your opinion, the popularity of the NFL has declined there?

[Upmacis] No, the ideas of the front still lie close to the hearts of many people. However, many chapters engage in virtually no activities. This is also due to the fact that frequently loudmouths who are ready to criticize anybody and anything under any power get to be leaders. The fact that real leaders have been elected to city and rayon soviets is another reason; this is a heavy burden which leaves no time for other pursuits. The habit of waiting for instructions from the center, which is second nature to us, is also to blame: When they tell us from Riga what to do, we will start doing it. Meanwhile, work goes on in places where they do not expect to get reminders and search for ways to solve problems themselves.

[Andrianova] Do you think that the People's Front is necessary at present, or that it is more logical to split into parties?

[Upmacis] I believe that the People's Front all the same should return to its centrist position despite attacks from the right and the left, for the sake of the future of Latvia, especially before the next elections. Be that as it may, it is an influential force with its developed structure, material facilities, and traditions. For as long as the Rubiks party exists, the united NFL is necessary as a real force capable of opposing the Communist Party of Latvia.

[Andrianova] Thank you for the interview.

### Latvia's Citizenship Law Debate Viewed

91UN0218A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 6 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by V. Zemniyeks, sociologist, under the rubric "Response:" "A Passion for Citizenship"]

[Text] Perhaps the biggest explosion of passions in and around our Supreme Soviet is expected during discussion of the Law on Citizenship. Even now, as before the eruption of a volcano, one hears underground rumblings and prophets are predicting the approach of tragedy. Unfortunately, a polarization of views on this issue has already taken place in society, and each of the contending parties is accumulating forces in order to engage them at the first opportunity.

On one hand there is the position of the Civilian Committees and units of the Latvian National Independence Movement, according to which only those who were citizens of the Republic of Latvia before 17 June 1940 and their descendants will become citizens again. Yes, a Stalinist regime occupied Latvia and treated it outrageously. But what will now happen with those hundreds of thousands of people for whom Latvia is no longer just a second home but their only home—for whom restoration of state independence is a desired reality? Should we reject them and morally humiliate them with distrust? Inscribed on the banners of the 1922 Constitution of the Republic of Latvia were the great words Equality, Freedom, and Fraternity, and 1990 may become the year of their restoration and realization.

On the other hand, there is the opinion of the organizations under the patronage of the Latvian Communist Party, where the proposal for dual citizenship predominates. In that event citizenship in the Republic of Latvia will be reduced to simple registration. In reality, only citizenship in the USSR will continue to exist, and the second citizenship-republic citizenship—will only be printed in the passport. Today you are a citizen of Latvia, tomorrow a citizen of Azerbaijan, etc.

In our common misfortune, the issue of citizenship is used as a bargaining chip in a political game: Who will trump whom, and who will collect more points. Good

Lord, have we not learned anything? How many more hardships must we suffer before we take a sober view of things?

As before, in Bolshevik fashion the radicals contrast the interests of the individual with those of the state. True, the democratic structure of society does not resolve all of its problems. True, there are many flagrant contradictions in the countries of developed democracy. But history has not invented a different, more effective way of harmonizing the interests of the individual and the state.

Will those who were forcibly stripped of citizenship 50 years ago be considered citizens of the Republic of Latvia? What about their descendants? Undoubtedly. What about other continual residents of the republic who are devoted to the ideals of a free, democratic, and independent Latvia and who are true to its values and prepared to repudiate any other citizenship—do they have the right to citizenship? Yes, undoubtedly. The Law on Citizenship is supposed to create the legal mechanism for realizing that right.

The most important thing is for the principles at the base of the law and for the legal mechanism to have a single source—democracy. And we should not replace the discussion on the essence of the law with an argument about specific ways of implementing it. The outward appearance, undoubtedly, is very important, but is it worth aggravating the situation by arguing about whether people should write a statement declaring their wish to become a citizen of the republic or not?

Democracy needs to be fought for, but that fight should only be conducted using democratic methods.

### Peters Chastises Latvian Press

91UN0218B Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 10 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by J. Peters, permanent representative of the Republic of Latvia Council of Ministers in Moscow: "Janis Peters' Report to the Latvian Press"]

[Text] LETA— *The permanent representative of the Republic of Latvia Government in Moscow has asked the LETA information agency to disseminate the following text:*

The article by L. Radzins entitled "Checking the President of the USSR" published in the 29 September 1990 edition of the newspaper LATVIJAS YAUNATIE, as well as reports published in other newspapers of the republic concerning the meeting of I. Godmanis, I. Bishers, and J. Peters with M. Gorbachev contain an arbitrary interpretation of the facts. L. Radzins cites the comment of E. Bichkauskas, the permanent representative of the government of the Republic of Latvia in Moscow, which he supposedly "heard" on the telephone. Here is an excerpt of that comment:

"Unprecedented things are happening in Moscow now. Previously I never heard such things when the question of the Baltic region was discussed. Look, Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Council of Nationalities, suddenly took the floor at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and made a prediction that the three states of the Baltic region would not take part in the conclusion of a Union treaty. I know that man well, and he is not one of those who would begin, on his own initiative, to prepare Russia and the other republics to reconcile themselves with the thought that the Baltic states will not sign the Union treaty. What Rafik Nishanov said is hardly meant to be a thoughtful approach.

"And then several hours later M. Gorbachev telephoned Riga (before that he phoned Prunskiene twice in Vilnius—on Saturday and Sunday) and he invited I. Godmanis, the prime minister of Latvia, I. Bishers, his first deputy, and J. Peters, the permanent representative of Latvia in Moscow, for a conversation. Was it a coincidence? Hardly."

My request is that in the future people do not "listen" to the telephone at an official level, so that facts will not be interpreted arbitrarily. M. Gorbachev did not telephone Riga. That was easy for me to verify, having gotten in contact with the president's press secretary. I telephoned as a representative of our government after having, at my own initiative, purposefully and insistently requested that the USSR president receive the leader of the Republic of Latvia and his colleagues. From this it follows that the meeting of I. Godmanis, I. Bishers, and J. Peters with M. Gorbachev is not tied in any fashion with telephone contacts between K. Prunskiene and M. Gorbachev, of which, perhaps, the president really was the initiator. It is not so easy to summon I. Godmanis to Moscow; after all, he is a sovereign person in a sovereign, if only *de jure* for the time being, state.

One might well not speak about this and act as though L. Radzins were right, along with TSINYA, SOVETSKAYA LATVIA, and the other publishing houses of the press which assert that the aforementioned representatives of Latvia were received at the Kremlin at the initiative of M. Gorbachev, if only... If only the inaccuracy, incompetence, and absurdity in the distribution of various political facts in the press of Latvia were not such a frequent phenomenon that it is already turning into a system that was previously administered by the "department of the press" but is now administered by voluntarism, ambitions, and political blindness. A new, informal, but not less dangerous command-totalitarian "department of the press" is being formed.

In this specific instance LATVIJAS YAUNATIJE, TSINYA, SOVETSKAYA LATVIJA, and other publishing houses are putting the representation of the Republic of Latvia and the government itself in an awkward position in the eyes of the president. These are no longer jokes or bold games.

Ah, with what nostalgia we dreamed of turning the representation into an embassy; how childlike we are as we attempt this business of state! One should not play at states and presidents. The formation of states is carried out thoughtfully and purposefully, without scorning any facet of the tiresome, daily effort. If we continue to make fools of ourselves with regard to the transmission of information, it will be a while before diplomatic ties are established between Latvia's leaders and the political and state leaders, diplomats, and members of the governments of the USSR, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Union republics, and other countries. In the meantime, the leaders of the representation are planning new initiatives toward possible contacts between the leaders of Latvia and the politicians of the world in the near future.

In that same 29 September issue LATVIJAS YAUNATIJE asserts in bold type that "The Baltic Region Is Not Alone!" That is true, but it is time to awaken from the euphoria: If approximation, inaccuracy, and even misrepresentation in the transmission of facts continues, and if the ideological transformation of our people in the direction of desired fantasies continues, then Latvia (I do not answer for the whole of the Baltic region and try never to speak in its name) risks not only remaining alone, but remaining tragically alone.

The democratic movements of the Soviet Union, as well as the public opinion of the West will turn away from us.

Arbitrariness in the transmission of official reports in the press threatens the prestige of Latvia. In the dissemination of such information priority belongs to LETA, which is established in a position that has been confirmed by the Latvian Council of Ministers.

The diplomatic mission of the Republic of Latvia Government in Moscow is working on the formation of friendly relations between a new Latvia and a new Soviet Union, guided by the 4 May 1990 Declaration of the Restoration of State Independence of Latvia. The same should be said about our goals regarding other states of the world and with whose representatives we are creating close contacts in Moscow and through Moscow, inasmuch as Moscow, whether you like it or not, is one of the political centers of the world.

In connection with this, I have a specific request for leaders of the mass media: If you wish to receive accurate information about the meetings between state leaders that are being organized by the permanent representation or about the various types of visits, official meetings, etc., address yourself to LETA, the governmental information agency of the Republic of Latvia, or to the press center of the permanent representation in Moscow at Chaplygin Street, No. 3, Press Attache Aris Jansons at telephone number 923-49-46 or 924-42-73, or get in contact with us at FAX number 923-92-95.

Also, accredit your special correspondents for reporting on official events in the mass media. Then it will not be necessary to quote conversations that were "heard."



Then the comments will be accurate, inasmuch as they will be based on accurate facts, which will in turn prove to the world that Latvia is in fact on the road to freedom of the press. This, of course, is not easy. To be free means to live in the world of reality, not on the plane of fantasy.

### Latvian CP Fights Property Appropriation

91UN0253A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
13 Oct 90 pp 1, 3

[Statement by the Press Center of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee: "In the Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A meeting of the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia has discussed the question of the protection of CPSU property on the territory of the republic. It was observed that the unlawful actions of the self-governing authorities locally, the hasty adoption of bills in the Latvian parliament, and similar haste in the sphere of law writing on the part of the republic's government are contributing to an intensification of the complex social and political situation in the republic. Attacks both on the Communist Party of Latvia as a whole, and its organizations and institutions and individual communists in particular, which are assuming increasingly broad-based proportions, have become a catalyst of this. Additional evidence of this is the action pertaining to the appropriation of CPSU property, which has lately been purposefully mounted by certain forces in society. Many examples of claims being made, without any legal grounds, to the premises of raykoms and gorkoms [rayon and city party committees] formerly built on the basis of party resources were set forth in this connection. Attacks pertaining to the appropriation of the CPSU Central Committee's Latvian Publishing House have now been resumed with renewed force.

The realities of the present situation in the republic are showing increasingly obviously that the anticommunist campaign, which is gaining momentum, has been elevated to the level of official policy. Pretending that the fact that Latvia is located on the territory of the Soviet Union does not exist, the republic Supreme Soviet and government are openly ignoring the USSR Council of Ministers ordinance of 26 May this year, "Measures To Protect the Property of the CPSU on the Territory of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]." Under conditions where a law on property has not been enacted by the Latvian parliament and the Union law on property has not been suspended, an unprecedented decision on the appropriation of the CPSU Central Committee's Latvian Publishing House, representing a model of legal nihilism, is being engendered. Having embarked on the path of resuming bourgeois practices in the republic, the ruling stratum is unwilling to come to terms with the fact that its actions in respect of party property flagrantly flout even the principles of bourgeois property law and represent a vandalism without parallel in world practice. Nor can the decision on the transfer of monetary resources from the bank account of the CPSU Central

Committee's Latvian Publishing House to the account of the specially formed Latvian Newspaper and Journal Publishers be deemed anything other than racketeering elevated to the level of official policy. Taking refuge behind the fraudulent slogan concerning the transfer of CPSU property to the ownership of the people, the state authorities intend to appropriate to themselves the controlling block of shares (51 percent) of ownership in the publishing house. Without preliminary negotiations with the proper owner of the publishing house—the CPSU Central Committee—the republic government has confronted it with the fact that it is due 23 percent of the stock. And only 26 percent has been given to the work force.

Other decisions concerning the appropriation of party property are being made on a similar pattern—without proper legal study and consultation with the parties concerned. And as I. Bishers, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, acknowledged, these decisions have no basis in law. They are dictated by purely opportunist-political interests.

As many of those who spoke at the meeting observed, the anticommunist campaign is not being rebuffed by the republic's law enforcement authorities—the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, the courts, the Arbitration Tribunal, and the so-called Republic of Latvia Procuracy. In their activity they have departed from the principles of unswerving compliance with legislative instruments of the USSR and the Latvian SSR, having become depoliticized in form and overpoliticized in essence.

It was emphasized at the meeting that the question of appropriating CPSU property on Latvian territory is essentially a question of to be or not to be for the socialist choice in a democratic society. From the very outset the devotion of the new government of the republic to police methods of control has been converted with unswerving consistency into a devotion to pro-fascist methods of government. This is confirmed also in the demolition of the monuments to V.I. Lenin—unprecedented both in terms of scale and the blasphemous nature of the methods of staging these actions—which is unprecedented in the practice of a civilized society. One is convinced of this by an entirely new fact also: The decision adopted at government level to postpone a meeting of people working in the agro-industrial complex to another date and another place. Among the reasons candidly put forward by representatives of the republic Council of Ministers on television was the invitation to officials of the Communist Party of Latvia to attend the meeting and its venue: the Social and Political Center on the premises of the Communist Party of Latvia. The list of such anticommunist manifestations elevated to the level of official policy could be continued.

Inasmuch as threats concerning a halt to the appearance of party publications are being made, the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia has declared that it reserves the right in this case to halt the

appearance of all publications, including those cleaving to anticommunist, pro-fascist positions.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia adopted an appeal to the republic Supreme Soviet and government which declares its firm intention to defend by all methods worthy of a civilized democratic society the property created on the basis of the contributions of millions of communists. The meeting adopted a number of specific measures aimed at guaranteed protection of CPSU property in Latvia.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia studied the question of convening the Sixth Plenum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee. It was decided to hold it on 16 October. It is proposed that the plenum agenda include the following items:

1. Tasks of the Communist Party of Latvia in connection with the decisions of the October (1990) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

2. Convening the concluding session of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia.

A.P. Rubiks, first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, was entrusted with delivering the report at the plenum.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia agreed with the recommendations set forth in the memorandum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department, "Guidelines for the Work of Primary Party Organizations Under the New Conditions." It will be sent to the gorkoms and raykoms for use in practical work.

The Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia supported the proposals of the Central Committee Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department concerning the main directions for the activity of party cadre improvement courses for 1990-1991.

The bureau meeting received the report of the Central Committee Ideology Commission on the progress of subscriptions to party publications. The statistical data put forth at the meeting testify that as a consequence of the increase in the price of print products and also the appearance of numerous new periodical publications, subscriptions for the coming year have declined sharply compared with the 1990 level. There have been instances of moral pressure being exerted on subscribers to party publications on the part of anticommunist organizers of subscriptions in the work force and in the "Latvsoyuzpechat" system. Dirty tricks are being employed to this end: All kinds of rumors, concerning, say, the closure of party publications, their termination of the publication of television schedules, and so forth are being spread. The mass subscription free of charge to the newspaper NEATKARIGA TSINYA is being organized from the monetary resources of the kolkhozes [collective farms].

At the same time, however, gorkoms and raykoms, (Yurmala, Līepaya, Kirovskiy, and others) are refraining from granting single war and labor invalids a preferential subscription from the resources of the party committees provided for by the corresponding decision of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Bureau. The party committees are not displaying initiative in the creation of conditions for subscription directly in the party establishments, at work, and at the place of residence. The efficiency of both verbal and print propaganda of party publications is inadequate. Serious omissions in the preparation of the subscription campaign were allowed by K. Dundurs, former leader of the CPSU Central Committee Latvian Publishing House.

The decision of the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia, adopted in respect of the results of the discussion, instructed the gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations to implement additional measures to step up the subscription to party publications for 1991. To this end it is essential to ensure fulfillment of the decision by the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia, "Establishment of Privileges for Single Invalids of the Great Patriotic War and Labor When Subscribing to the Newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA," which was adopted earlier; to support the practice of subscription to the party press from the resources at the disposal of the primary party organizations for the system of party training and material support for communists in need; to practice the subscription to party publications in the premises of gorkoms and raykoms and party committees, at work, and at the place of residence; to enlist the party apparatus and the communists themselves for this; to organize the propaganda and distribution of the party press in the buildings of party authorities and other public places and keep a current record of the subscription to and distribution of party periodicals in the "Latvsoyuzpechat" system.

The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Bureau supported the initiative of the Kuldigskiy Raykom on the creation of the KULDIGZNIYEKS weekly rayon paper in Latvian.

#### **Latvian CP (CPSU) Plenum Held**

91UN0319C Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
18 Oct 90 p 1

[Press Center of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee report on 16 October Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] As already reported, a plenum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee was held on 16 October. Participating in its work were members of the Central Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Latvia and also secretaries of party raykoms [rayon committees] and gorkoms [city committees], members of the Riga Party Gorkom, and members of the Equal Rights faction of the republic Supreme Soviet who are



not members of the Central Committee, as well as representatives of the party mass media.

The plenum honored with a moment of silence the memory of V.M. Krumins, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, USSR people's deputy, and chairman of the council of the Latvian republic organization of veterans of war and labor, who passed away on 16 October.

The plenum placed the following issues on the agenda:

1. Tasks of the Communist Party of Latvia in connection with the decisions of the October (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.
2. Convening the final meeting of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia.

A report on the first issue on the agenda was given by A.P. Rubiks, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee.

The following participants in the October (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee participated in the subsequent discussions of the report: A.P. Klaučens, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, and first secretary of the Riga Party Gorkom; S.L. Dimanis, member of the CPSU Central Committee, leader of the Equal Rights faction of the republic Supreme Soviet; Yu.N. Bogdanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the party committee of the Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitel'nyy zavod production association; and V.F. Rimasevskis, member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee. Also speaking at the plenum were: I.V. Lopatin, chairman of the republic council of the International Workers Front; P.P. Bartminskiy, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and first secretary of the Preylskiy Party Raykom; A.M. Dremina, assistant to USSR People's Deputy V.I. Alksnis; A.L. Litvinenko, chairman of the executive committee of the republic United Council of Labor Collectives; V.L. Afendik, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and secretary of the party committee of the Riga Alfa production association; A.K. Reinieks, member of the Central Auditing and Inspection Commission of the Communist Party of Latvia and first deputy public prosecutor; V.I. Uralpov, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and first secretary of the Aluksnenskiy Party Raykom; Yu.N. Dmitriyev, member of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of the Kraslavskiy Party Raykom; T.A. Zhdanok, member of the Equal Rights faction of the republic Supreme Soviet; and O.D. Potreki, secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee.

A.P. Rubiks gave the closing word at the plenum.

Concerning the issue under discussion the plenum approved a decree in which the decisions of the October (1990) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee are taken as guidelines for action under the conditions of the transition to market relations in the economy.

The plenum adopted an appeal to communists and all residents of the republic who value the ideals of Great October, in keeping with the ukase of the USSR president, to celebrate the date and participate in the festivities devoted to 7 November.

The plenum also sent an appeal to the country's president, M.S. Gorbachev, which contains a demand to provide for the fulfillment of the presidential ukase of 14 May of this year, which recognizes the declaration of the republic Supreme Soviet of 4 May of this year as not having legal validity.

At the plenum there was sharp criticism of the activity of USSR internal affairs minister V.V. Bakatin, who is not providing for law and order in the country or the republic and has not been able to put a stop to cases of corruption, speculation, and the growth of other dangerous legal violations, which are becoming widespread.

Regarding the second issue on the agenda, the plenum adopted a decree concerning conducting the final meeting of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia on 1 December of this year. The following issues are intended to be on the agenda:

1. Tendencies in the development of the sociopolitical situation in the republic and the foundations of the program of action of the Communist Party of Latvia.
2. Rules of the Communist Party of Latvia.
3. A political assessment of the historical path of the Communist Party of Latvia.

The first secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia, A.P. Rubiks, was instructed to present a report on the first question, and the second secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee, V.F. Rimasevskis, and Secretary of the Central Committee I.Yu. Skujins, on the second and third questions respectively.

With this the work of the plenum of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee ended.

#### Latvian Citizens' Congress Meets

91UN0319D Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
20 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent G. Kuchina: "At the Congress of Citizens of Latvia"]

[Text] Riga, 1 October—The session of the congress of citizens of the Latvian Republic, which considers itself the "legal representation" of people who lived in Latvia up until 1940 and their descendants, has completed its work.

Although the agenda did not envision discussions of the activity of the parliament and the government, almost every speaker touched upon this subject. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet who are members of the People's Front parliamentary faction and simultaneously represent the citizens' movement persuaded those assembled there that there can be no discussion of Latvia's concluding a Union treaty and granting citizenship to all residents of the republic.

The speakers were especially alarmed about the forthcoming privatization earmarked by the government program. "We must not allow," it was noted at the forum, "the plants and buildings to fall into the hands of non-Latvians. A document was adopted concerning principles of conversion of property: First of all it is necessary to return property to its previous owners and their heirs, and then what is left should be privatized taking into account the rights of the real citizens. They also pointed out a possible source of compensation in case the property has not been preserved. Its loss and also the profit lost during all the years could be reimbursed from the USSR budget.

Deputies of the parliament assured the delegates that the Supreme Soviet would take the demands of the citizens' movement into account. So on Tuesday they will give a second reading to the amendment to the law on alternative service. Their goal is to keep boys from Latvia from serving in Soviet forces. A draft law concerning the exclusive right of Latvian citizens to the land was prepared.

#### **Latvian CP(CPSU) Sees 'Deepening Crisis' in Republic**

91UN0346A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
28 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by the Latvian CP Central Committee Bureau:  
"The Crisis Is Deepening. Joint Action Is Needed"]

[Text] Party bodies are receiving numerous oral and written statements from the public on the troubling and dangerous situation that has developed in recent months in the social-political and economic spheres.

Worried people are informing the Latvian CP Central Committee that in many cases local councils of people's deputies, having taken power from party committees, have been unable to exercise their authority, and have left their constituents' problems unsolved, and in some cases unaddressed.

The government of the republic and the councils of people's deputies at all levels are not adopting the necessary measures to strengthen productive discipline; they are tolerating numerous instances of lower production, including that of consumer goods, and of nonfulfillment of state orders and economic contract obligations.

For eight months of this year, production assignments were not fulfilled for 54 of the 106 most important products, resulting in a production shortfall of 120 million rubles.

Production dropped of 74 products, of which 30 were consumer goods. Compared to the corresponding period of last year, production dropped of various fabrics (-10.8 million square meters), knitted goods (-1 million pieces), shoes (-123,000 pairs), and furniture (-1.6 million rubles). Production fell of meat (-6,800 tons), sausage (-2,000 tons), butter (-600 tons), whole milk products (-5,400 tons), fish (-30,300 tons), flour (-4,200 tons), sugar (-11,100 tons).

A catastrophic situation has formed in new housing and other infrastructure projects. Only 26 percent of the yearly plan's housing space was completed for the eight months.

Despite the overfulfillment of the retail trade turnover plan, store counters and shelves are empty, and of its total growth of 614.4 million rubles, 42 million rubles were from the sale of alcoholic beverages and 97 million rubles from price increases. The demand for meat, milk and fish products remains unsatisfied. Only 34 percent of the demand for children's food has been met.

The government has practically legalized large-scale speculation at the state level by expanding the network of commercial stores and commerce in them of goods at prices too high for workers.

Under the pretext of creating an off-budget fund, the government has officially raised the prices for alcohol and tobacco, and is now preparing a new price increase for meat and milk products.

The shortage of food products in state trade and the frantic demand for them have led to a spontaneous growth in prices in the kolkhoz markets. For example, in August of this year the prices for agricultural products in the Riga markets rose by 48.6 percent. They were 2-13 times higher than the state prices for many types of vegetables.

It is also disturbing that for the foreseeable future the republic's government is not guaranteeing that there will be sufficient goods for the monetary incomes. And where could the goods come from, if the republic's light industry has only been assured 20 percent of its raw materials for 1991, while industry as a whole has been forced by the breakdown in stable economic ties with suppliers of raw materials, supplies and spare parts to conclude contracts with customers to deliver only one-fourth of their output next year?

All this is occurring under slogans of the transition to a market economy and the struggle against the command-administrative system; however, it is leading to chaos in the economy, further aggravating critical conditions in our society.

Of special concern is the approaching winter. Winter storage of potatoes, vegetables and fruit is being done very poorly in Riga and other cities.

Boilers and thermal power plants have not been provided with the necessary amount of fuel resources.

The republic's residents remember well 1979, when residential apartments in Riga, Daugavpils, Luda, Liepay and other cities lost their heat in the dead of winter due to temporary fuel interruptions.

Such interruptions have today assumed a chronic nature, and the threat of a hungry and cold winter is a reality.

The Latvian CP Central Committee Bureau shares the concern of the republic's population regarding these issues and views the existing situation as an extreme one demanding equally extreme measures by the Supreme Soviet and the government of Latvia, with the assistance of all political parties and movements.

The second part of the public's concerns relates to problems of the struggle against speculation, hooliganism, theft and other violations of the law.

The public has noted with approval the measures of the Council of Ministers of Latvia aimed at combating speculation and violations of the law in commerce.

However, these measures cannot solve all the problems in the distribution sector without the involvement of broad segments of the population, representatives of various political parties, trends and directions. The negative processes in society have gone too far.

In only eight months of this year registered crimes grew by 17.1 percent, including felonies by 21.8 percent, and premeditated serious bodily injuries by 40.7 percent.

An extremely low level of crimes are solved, especially in Riga.

There is every reason today to speak of a continuing formation and development of organized crime in the republic. The sharp drop in activity in the area of maintaining order and combating crime by internal affairs agencies, prosecutors and courts is perplexing.

The republic has declared its goal of a law-based state, while in fact it is cultivating legal nihilism, disrespect for the law, and the renunciation of many universal human values. Such tendencies in the attitudes and behavior of part of the population threaten dangerous consequences for any state, whatever its political structure.

The Latvian CP Central Committee Bureau proposes to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of Latvia that they find forms and methods for joint action by the supreme authorities, government and various political parties to solve the most important economic and legal problems.

Only joint efforts in these areas can help stabilize the situation, and then ensure the growth in people's welfare.

### Opposition Role of Democratic Platform, Latvia's Third Way Examined

91UN0346B Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
31 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by I. Petrov, doctor of historical sciences, in response to reader's questions about the Democratic Platform: "Passions for Power: Or, What Is the Democratic Platform in the Party?"]

[Text] There have been reports in the press that a congress will be held soon of supporters of the Democratic Platform [DP] in the CPSU, at which the DP will change its name and be transformed into a parliamentary party. This movement is often defined as an opposition in the CPSU. Please tell us about this future party and whether it has supporters in the Latvian Communist Party.

A. Ilyenkov, Ya. Elkanis, Riga.

At this paper's request, the readers' questions are answered by doctor of historical sciences I. PETROV:

As is known, the term opposition is understood to mean counteraction, resistance, the counterposition of views and policies relative to other views and policies. Persons or parties counter to the opinion of the majority or the prevailing opinion recognize themselves to be oppositionists. An intraparty opposition is a group objecting to any fundamental questions of the policy of the party and its leading bodies.

Under current conditions, the Democratic Platform represents the most serious political opposition to the CPSU. In Latvia, this political trend is represented by a group called the "Third Path."

First, regarding the Democratic Platform, the largest opposition force with which the CPSU must presently deal. This political movement was born in the scientific and educational intelligentsia. Most of its supporters are to be found in the Moscow higher party school and several other higher educational institutions in the capital. They are pushing their views in the press and in radio and television appearances, and have stated them in speeches at the Founding Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party.

The number of DP supporters has not been determined. According to its directors' assertion, 150-200,000 party members shared the Democratic Platform's position up to the 28th CPSU Congress. We believe it may have somewhat more supporters at present. Its ranks have been swelled by those who did not manage to split the party at the 28th Congress. As to the size of a party formed on the basis of the DP, it will be decidedly smaller.

The Democratic Platform does not have clearly formulated documents laying out its organizational and ideological foundations. Its main theoretical principles have been spelled out in a document entitled "The Democratic Platform." Overall, this document is an eclectic mixture of views and ideas of petty bourgeois and social



democratic parties of both the present and the past, with a large measure of demagoguery and political adventurism.

The 28th CPSU Congress considered many of the positive proposals advanced by Democratic Platform participants, as can be seen from the decisions adopted. In particular, those on the political evaluation of the historical path of the party, ways to democratize intraparty life, an expansion of the rights of primary party organizations, and a fundamental review of the party bureaucracy's functions. But the congress also categorically rejected the position of the "democratic platformists" aimed at weakening the party's influence in modern society, at splitting the party ranks, at self-liquidation of the party by renunciation of the basic principle of its organizational structure: democratic centralism; and of its ideological foundation: creative Marxism-Leninism, as well as the party's social basis and the elimination of the orientation towards achieving a vanguard role in Soviet society.

Having failed in their goals at the 28th Congress, the DP leaders organized active organizational and political activity: they held a meeting of the Coordinating Council, at which several documents were adopted. The members of the Coordinating Council then traveled around the country making public appearances during which they recruited new supporters; they also visited the Soviet Baltic republics and Latvia. They had meetings with the directors of the NFL and NKPL [Independent Communist Party of Latvia], actively preaching their views and seeking ways to consolidate various political forces on a platform of struggling against the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress.

A thorough analysis of the DP's theoretical and political positions under Latvia's conditions was conducted at the regional theoretical and practical conference "Current Questions of Democratization and Renewal of the Party" before the 28th Congress, but its basic judgments coincided with what was later said on this topic by the 28th Congress in its materials and decisions. We shall discuss them briefly.

It states clearly in the "Resolutions of the 28th CPSU Congress on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 28th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of the Party" that the CPSU is a voluntary union of like thinkers, that it remains the party of a socialist choice and a communist outlook, and that its policies reflect and defend the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all the working people. Its Charter states that the CPSU lives and operates on the basis of an ideological commonality of values and party comradeship, and on the principle of democratic centralism. The Democratic Platform supports the idea of a parliamentary party, in fact rejecting the leadership of labor among the people; it rejects the principle of democratic centralism, proposing a return to freedom of factions.

After the 28th CPSU Congress, the leaders of the Democratic Platform went further in the direction of an organized muddle: the statement of the Coordinating Council mentions the creation of "new sovereign parties." It thus adopts a direct course towards the complete breakup and disintegration of the CPSU.

The CPSU and the Democratic Platform disagree completely in their ideological foundations. According to its Charter, the CPSU is "a political organization which brings together on a voluntary basis citizens of the USSR to realize program goals based on common human values and the communist ideal." The Democratic Platform has stated that it favors the creation of parties which "will be not communist, but not anticommunist either."

As is known, a majority of the oppositionists have taken such an undefined position. And what was the result? Let us recall the evolution of these views using the example of the Russian "left communists." At first, they also expressed their own position towards communist ideas, without totally rejecting them. But after a very short time, they openly took anticommunist positions and ended their history in the camp of ardent anti-Soviets. Something similar could presumably occur with the supporters of the Democratic Platform, at least its right wing.

Now regarding the "Third Way." The press has already pointed out the limited possibilities of this opposition within the Latvian Communist Party due to the lack of popularity of its ideological and organizational positions. The entire dead-end prospects of the "Third Way" were exposed. This was also confirmed by the following events: the newspaper RIGAS BALSS reported that the "Third Way" had ceased operating as an independent opposition. But drawing the "lessons for tomorrow," as they say, and in response to our readers, we shall recall and analyze the development of the events connected with this trend.

In February of this year, at a party meeting of the VEF production association, a group of party members consisting of Ye. Voloshin, A. Vorontsov, V. Zemnieks, Yu. Pone, V. Steshenko and others offered a document presenting the "Third Way," as its authors saw it, as a midway platform between those who support an immediate break with the CPSU and those who, in the opinion of the "Third Way" organizers, support "the preservation of faithfulness to dogmas and stereotypes."

It should be noted immediately that the supporters of this opposition trend were completely unfamiliar with the situation existing in the Latvian Communist Party at that time, which was that those supporting a renewed Latvian Communist Party in a renewed CPSU were gathering strength in counterweight to the "independents." And this progressive direction was opposed not by the Riga party gorkom, as the apologists of the "Third Way" claimed in their "Letter to All Members of the



Communist Party of Latvia," but by the then leadership of the Latvian CP Central Committee.

The authors of the "third platform" also did not move forward in evaluating the situation in the Latvian Communist Party during their preparation for the 25th Latvian CP Congress. Their documents repeated the positions of the Moscow Democratic Platform regarding the transformation of the Communist Party into a parliamentary party and renunciation of the struggle for power; in the draft of the proposed Charter, they foresaw the organizational structure of the Latvian Communist Party outside of the CPSU, with de facto denial of the need for party discipline. It is thus not surprising that at the 25th Latvian CP Congress this platform was not supported; after April its supporters announced the need to preserve the "Third Way" democratic movement and to concentrate their efforts on forming leftist movements.

Later, the Statement of the Supporters of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU and Participants in the "Third Way" Democratic Movement of Communists of Latvia contained demands (to whom is unclear) that a referendum be held on the de-Bolshevization of the Latvian Communist Party; i.e., that communism be rejected as the goal of the party's activity, that a parliamentary-type democratic party be created based on the Latvian Communist Party, that the CPSU be built on the principle of a union of sovereign parties, etc. As a practical measure, the proposal was made to halt payment of membership dues until the results of the referendum and a conference of supporters of the Democratic Platform in the Latvian Communist Party. The press also contained samples of "Third Way" party membership cards.

Having announced such a program, the movement's leaders themselves did not believe in the seriousness of everything that had been proclaimed. And, it does not seem accidental that its ranks began to quickly thin out, while the declaration of liquidation became the logical end point of the "Third Way" party.

These are the basic milestones in the formation of an opposition in the CPSU and in one of its branches, the Latvian Communist Party. What main conclusions should be drawn? Above all, it must be kept in mind that

an opposition within the CPSU ranks is possible, and therefore party committees, primary party organizations, and all party members must be armed with scientific knowledge regarding the forms, operating methods and tactics of the struggle against it.

Oppositionists in both the past and present furiously attack the party's clear organizational structure and its organizations; they deny the need for ideological and political unity on the part of party members, as well as the importance of strong, conscious party discipline. The current oppositionist forces in the party, as can be seen from the example of the Communist Party and the "Third Way," largely repeat the views of the oppositionists of the past; they use the tactic of discrediting the basic theoretical, political and organizational principles of the Communist Party, and try to destroy the party's work both locally and at the center, advancing unjustified demands. This includes their farfetched and completely illegal "claims" on party property and resources, demonstrative nonpayment of party dues, and refusal to carry out decisions.

The following conclusion would thus seem to be very important: the faster and more convincing the criticism of the oppositionist forces, the faster they will collapse. A clear confirmation of this is the rapid breakdown of the ranks of the "Third Way": this oppositionist trend in the Communist Party of Latvia was subjected to a thorough critical analysis at the earliest stage of its appearance.

#### Latvians Polled on Union Status, Autonomy

91UN0283A Riga ATMODA in Russian No 43,  
5 Oct 90 p 5

[Public opinion poll on Latvian governmental status in September 1990: "Public Opinion: Latvia, September 1990"]

[Text] *We hereby begin acquainting you with the results of the latest public opinion poll of the Latvian population, conducted by the Latvian Information Center in mid-September. There were 862 Latvian residents polled, representing all levels and groups of the population. Of those polled, the various population groups in terms of age, sex, nationality and place of residence are presented in proportions differing from those given in state statistics by less than 5 percent.*

Question: What would you like to see as Latvia's state status? (%)

Responses	Entire population			Latvians			Russians			Other nationalities		
	Feb 90	Jun 90	Sep 90	Feb 90	Jun 90	Sep 90	Feb 90	Jun 90	Sep 90	Feb 90	Jun 90	Sep 90
Republic in a USSR Federation	12	13	10	3	3	2	25	27	20	21	19	13
Independent state within a USSR as a union of independent states	29	24	28	16	9	9	48	43	48	40	32	43
Independent state outside USSR	50	55	55	75	85	85	15	20	22	30	38	35
No response	9	8	7	6	3	4	12	10	10	9	11	9

Question: How will Latvia's economic situation change in the near future?

Responses	Entire population	Latvians	Russians	Other nationalities	Rigans	Rural residents
worsen substantially	51	48	57	48	55	50
worsen slightly	24	28	22	18	26	23
no change	6	5	7	7	6	6
improve slightly	4	4	3	7	4	4
improve substantially	2	2	1	1	0	2
no response	13	13	10	19	9	15

**RSFSR Official Comments on Latvia Talks**

91UN0233B Riga BALTIIYSKOYE VREMYA  
in Russian No 41, 23 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Fedor Vadimovich Shelov-Kovedyayev, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Interrepublic Relations Subcommittee, by correspondent I. Kudryavtsev; place and date not given: "Negotiations Deadlocked"]

[Text] [Kudryavtsev] What was the nature of the Russian delegation at the negotiations with Latvia?

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] The delegation was confirmed by a decree of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and was headed by Mr. Yeltsin and his deputy, Mr. Khasbulatov; the overall composition was approximately 14 persons, representatives of commissions with an interest in the results of the negotiations. This commission is negotiating with other republics, specifically with Estonia and Moldova.

[Kudryavtsev] In what phase are the negotiations with Latvia?

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] The start was turbulent. At the beginning of August the Latvian side came with its draft treaty, which had undergone considerable modifications as the result of mutual discussions, and it had been appreciably supplemented in respect to the structure of the treaty included. Interim wording was agreed upon on 11 August. We regarded it as interim, believing that at

that time, on 11 August, neither party could offer different and exhaustive wording that would satisfy both parties.

We took this text away with us, worked on it very intensively, submitted our proposals in accordance with our vision of the problems, and then forwarded the full text via our permanent mission in Latvia. Since then—August—we have had no new information....

[Kudryavtsev] How are negotiations with other republics going?

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] A treaty with Moldova has been signed; a treaty with Estonia has been agreed upon and has already been printed; the wording has been collated, and it will be signed in a few days' time. Yeltsin is still unwell....

[Kudryavtsev] To what extent are the economic agreements tied in with the political agreements?

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] With Latvia, Lithuania, and Moldova economic agreements were signed prior to the completion of the consultations on political negotiations, and with Georgia before they even commenced. There was no strict linkage here (except for Estonia—V.K.).

But Mr. Silayev already has been forced to say that the new factors that have emerged in the economic sphere are putting us in a difficult position and that some points of the economic agreement require further study. You understand that Russia cannot continue economic supplies in the same volume when the border is becoming

uncrossable from the other side. I refer to the measures that all the Baltic republics are now gradually beginning to adopt.

[Kudryavtsev] So there has been no news since August....

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] ...but there have been reports from Latvia—and we find them very disturbing—that some members of the Latvian delegation, including Comrades Kirshteyns and Krastinsh, have made statements to the effect that the Latvian delegation will never retreat from a mention in the present agreement of the 1920 treaty and that for their inclusion in the text of the "zero option" wording of the law on citizenship in Latvia is absolutely unacceptable. It is said also that the Latvian delegation succeeded in persuading the Russian delegation on these points. But we absolutely do not consider ourselves persuaded, and our position on these points does not concur with that of the Latvians. Generally, we believe that such statements should not be made prior to final concordance of the wording of a treaty; this will seriously complicate the course of the negotiations and narrow the possibilities of versions being found that really are acceptable to both parties.

It is almost two months now that the Latvian side has shown no interest in the negotiations. This greatly distresses us since a treaty would seem a political deed of extraordinary importance.

It should reflect norms that correspond to international law. Latvia's perfectly natural desire to be an internationally recognized state should be accompanied also by certain steps in the direction of compliance with the norms accepted throughout the civilized world. This applies primarily to the rights of man and citizen—political, economic, social, and civil rights. The present situation in the world is such that simply no one will understand or accept Latvia; or help it emerge from the difficult situation in which it currently finds itself. Remember what niggardly handouts the Soviet Union received from the West when it failed to observe human rights on its territory. Neither could we permit ourselves to conclude a treaty that does not guarantee civil rights.

[Kudryavtsev] Is the citizenship situation better in Moldova and Estonia than in Latvia? After all, the sole republic in which a "zero option" law on citizenship—that is where the whole permanent resident population on the territory of a republic has the right to acquire citizenship—has been enacted, it would seem, is Lithuania....

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] No, a law has not been enacted in these republics. But we reached mutual understanding with their delegations on the points that I mentioned earlier. We—I refer not only to the Russian delegation here but our partners also—performed a truly titanic amount of work, and what is more very intensively.

What is needed for the conclusion of an agreement is primarily political will. The forces that currently consider the "zero option" unacceptable could, for all that,

take account of international public opinion and display a real aspiration to ensuring that international rules of law be respected on the territory of Latvia, that they be above domestic legislation, and that domestic legislation correspond to international norms. In this case, they could simply appropriately set all this forth and prepare public opinion within the republic.

In addition, in concluding this treaty we must start from reality and look ahead; we cannot orient ourselves entirely toward the 1920 treaty. I am a historian and have explained at consultations with the Latvian side repeatedly that we cannot play fast and loose with history for it is possible to descend into it infinitely, and if Lenin's legacy is viewed universally as being negative, why precisely in 1920 was he good in negotiations with Latvia?

[Kudryavtsev] Was the question of territories raised at the negotiations also?

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] The Latvian side told us that it had its eyes on Pytalovskiy Rayon but did not insist on this proposal, although Mr. Krastinsh explained to us that this issue was being discussed in Latvia. But you know also that there has been a shifting of border markers and the Latvian Government decision on the border.... This puts extra burdens on the negotiating process. The original quadrupartite agreement in Yurmala anticipated the negotiations being conducted without any prior conditions. But if, after this, the Republic of Latvia adopts a decision on the state border, this frankly creates prior conditions; the situation changes fundamentally, and the original arrangement is disrupted. This casts a shadow over the negotiating process.

[Kudryavtsev] Has Russia concluded a political agreement with Lithuania?

[Shelov-Kovedyayev] There is still silence here also. We are advocating the conclusion of a full treaty as with the two other Baltic republics, but the Lithuanian side proposed for a start the signing of a declaration which was subsequently called an agreement. But this declaration simply proclaims certain principles, not demanding their precise fulfillment. The parties do not assume any commitments; they simply sign a statement of intent: We would like to be such and such.

Certain points—specifically, mentions of 1920 and 1940—confuse us in the negotiations with the Lithuania also. Even while recognizing Lithuania as an occupied country, we cannot heap the entire burden of responsibility for the occupation on Russia. Russia did not occupy Lithuania in 1940, it was the Soviet Union. We cannot, in any event would not want to, consider ourselves its successors here.

[Kudryavtsev] One further important point. Is Russia in the course of the negotiations recognizing the independence of the Baltic states?



[Shelov-Kovedyayev] The working name of all the treaties is "Fundamentals of Interstate Relations." The preamble enshrines the right of each party to state independence. All this is perfectly in keeping with international rules of law.

#### **Landsbergis, Prunskiene on Talks Results**

91UN0221B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian  
6 Oct 90 p 1

[ELTA article: "On the Results of the Consultative Conference and Negotiations With the Soviet Union"]

[Text] At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet on 4 October, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, and Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene informed deputies of the results of a consultative conference held in the Kremlin and the prospects for negotiations with the Soviet Union. We shall give a summary of their speeches.

Vytautas Landsbergis, having discussed the long and difficult path Lithuania has had to travel to the 1 October conference in Moscow, noted that Lithuania has reappeared on the political map of the world.

This conference is undoubtedly a landmark, he noted. It is a landmark in the sense that it is a meeting of official state delegations. We have determined the goals of the consultative meetings to be conducted and agreed on the schedule for conducting them.

Of course, as before, we are striving to have real negotiations, to have the status of the sides confirmed, said the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. With the great inequality between the sides that has developed over 50 years and Lithuania's present situation, a minimum amount of legal equality should be established at the beginning of the negotiations. In order to accomplish this, we have prepared a draft of our preliminary protocol. We were not surprised by the other side's desire not to have a protocol. They assume that these are preliminary conditions for us. We had to say that in that case one could list a number of unacceptable preliminary conditions that had been imposed on us. If they were eliminated, there would obviously be no need for such a protocol. Beginning if only with what we have repeatedly proposed—to annul or at least to suspend the act of incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union of 3 September 1940. Other aspects such as the presence of the army, borders, visas, and so forth were also mentioned as clear features of the preliminary inequality and obviously unfavorable conditions that had been imposed on us.

Vytautas Landsbergis noted that the word "negotiations" was used for a quite realistic reason: It is contained in the general communique which we regard as a very important political and legal document.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet noted that the meeting was really constructive to a considerable degree,

and at it one could feel the desire to reach an agreement and a certain favorable inclination toward us. On the other hand, one felt the existence of a certain reserve—perhaps it was an unwillingness to recognize the situation that had developed or perhaps it was simply a habit of looking down on one of their neighbors. And so the debates were not easy, but the atmosphere was not heavy, and that inspires hope—Vytautas Landsbergis emphasized.

The leader of the delegation from the Lithuanian Republic reported that they had discussed the payment of pensions to participants in the Great Patriotic War. Neither side made a political problem out of that.

It was not easy to conduct negotiations on economic relations with the Soviet Union in 1991 through direct horizontal and not the usual vertical cooperation. Only after long discussions did the two sides come to the conclusion that they had to reach an agreement. In the opinion of Vytautas Landsbergis, the impediment to this was not anybody's ill will but simply certain stereotypes of thinking.

Approximately half of the time of the consultative meeting was devoted to economic affairs, mainly the future economic relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union, noted Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene. Thus the communique contained a point formulated at our request—to continue the work on the development of bilateral trade and economic ties in 1991. Of course, this pertains to the transition to the market and other factors that neither side could account for over a longer period.

The prime minister announced that the delegation from the Soviet Union and its chairman actively strove to formulate a point that meant that in the next year the main partner of the Lithuanian Republic would be the Union authorities. Keeping in mind what is happening in the Soviet Union today and the relations between its central authorities and individual republics, above all with the government of Russia, it is not difficult to understand that it is not yet clear what competence these authorities will have in the sphere of economics, above all in the distribution of resources and trade in them. Prime Minister Ryzhkov intends to retain his competence through the so-called Union enterprises and be if not a decisive at least a significant player, particularly in relations with Lithuania. The leader of the USSR delegation achieved this recognition from us. But the formulation that was adopted essentially means that we will have to edge our way in and find a way of operating between the two extremes.

Kazimiera Prunskiene explained that one of the extremes was to completely ignore the Soviet Union and its central power. The other would be for us to limit ourselves to agreements with the 12 republics, not including Latvia and Estonia, which have decided to stay outside the Union. This would be dangerous since, if the central powers were to get their hands on certain



resources, we would risk being left without some of them. Recognizing this, we allowed the possibility of our concluding bilateral trade and economic agreements with the leadership of the Soviet Union for the delivery and sales of these resources.

Kazimiera Prunskiene expressed confidence that there can be many concrete contacts before the next meeting. An agreement has already been reached concerning economic protection of the borders, customs, and regulation of licenses for the current period. It seems that the other side is inclined to engage in dialogue and search for ways of solving the problem.

#### **Brazauskas on Future of Lithuanian Communists**

91UN0200A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian  
17 Oct 90 p 4

[Open letter by A. Brazauskas under the rubric: "Digest: Lithuanian Press. From Wednesday to Wednesday"]

[Text] On 10 October TIYESA published an open letter by Algirdas Brazauskas to a member of the Independent Lithuanian Communist Party. We are printing the open letter in slightly abridged form.

Dear comrade,

(...)

Our duty is to justify people's hopes and not to disband the Lithuanian Communist Party, as certain so-called well-wishers would like, but, rather, to reorganize it in such a way that it can consolidate the moderate forces of society and can become a positive force in the national rebirth and in the reinforcement of democracy. Therefore it is necessary to complete the reorganization that was begun at the 20th Lithuanian CP Congress and, taking into consideration the new and very complicated political situation, this must be done without any delay. The recent 7th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, in fact, passed a decision to convoke a Lithuanian CP Congress on 1-2 December 1990 and announced an open discussion of the basic platform of the future party and its goals and structure. We also call upon you to engage actively in the preparation for the congress, since no one else but you and the congress delegates empowered by you will make the final decision about what the party will become in the future.

(...)

We must create an organization that would reflect our common yearnings and would provide each of its members with support and political self-expression. Because it is no secret that some of the members who have left it had been deprived specifically of that support, while the attacks and slander directed at them not only did not decrease, but, on the contrary, became intensified. We do not push aside those who have begun to doubt the party's viability or the need for it in Lithuania. We call upon them to participate actively, to the extent of their capabilities, in the work of preparing for the congress.

If you, our dear comrade, are interested in my opinion, I shall say that I view the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party with optimism. The party is overcoming both external pressure and internal contradiction specifically because many members have rejected the customs and position of the ruling party, and link their political participation in the life of Lithuania with the aspirations that the entire nation has in common. Lithuania objectively needs our party, if only because our republic's democratic future needs a multiparty system. The experience of a party that has completely cleansed itself of totalitarianism and that has an instructive bitter past, naturally conforms to its striving for national consent, the protection of human rights and social justice, glasnost and democracy.

I hope that you too will express your opinion relative to the methods for reorganizing the Lithuanian Communist Party at party meetings, in the press, or in letters addressed to Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

Respectfully yours,  
A. Brazauskas

#### **RSFSR**

#### **Tatar Official Scores Khasbulatov Federation, Union Concepts**

91UN0147A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 24 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by M. Sabirov, chairman of the Tatar SSR Council of Ministers, RSFSR people's deputy, and I. Tagirov, professor, doctor of history: "Misunderstanding or Position? About One, Far From Indisputable, Point of View on the Renewal of the RSFSR and the Union"]

[Text] Recently materials have been published from republics which have adopted declarations on national sovereignty. Reading them, you more and more often catch between the lines dissatisfaction and protest apropos of this. Involuntarily the question arises: "What is this—a misunderstanding or a position?" It is possible, some people simply fail to understand the essence of these documents, they do not see that they completely correspond to the humane ideals of October and the objective requirements of the creation of a renewed Union—a union of sovereign republics? But perhaps this is an open policy aimed at the preservation of a ranked [ranzhirovannaya], iniquitable federation?

For example, the article of the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, R. Khasbulatov, "Under the Flag of Unity the Renewal of Russia Can Take Place" (IZVESTIYA, 24 September 90), along with the natural concern for the destinies of the whole country and Russia, contains an absolutely unacceptable and, what is more, distorted picture of the history and present-day realities of the national-state construction of the USSR. One cannot help but feel that the author can in no way agree with the fact that autonomous republics, not

"having asked" the RSFSR, have adopted declarations about their state sovereignty. Is it permissible to ask why then the RSFSR itself declared its state sovereignty without the consent of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

In spite of the evident contradiction, R. Khasbulatov's article nevertheless has its logic and reveals his point of view on the history and development prospects of the USSR and the RSFSR. The logic is such that the Union from the very beginning was conceived as a ranked federation and must exist as such. But the history of the USSR is represented as a process of the joining of republics that began nobody knows where.

One can hardly agree with this. As a matter of fact, the logic of the creation of the Soviet state directly emanated from the logic of the collapse of the Russian Empire. The end of the empire signified the collapse of the regime of serfdom and the exploitation of the workers and peoples as a phenomenon incompatible with the ideals of human existence, equality and justice. The logic of the formation and development of the Soviet state was determined by the chief task—to emancipate the workers and peoples, to liberate them fully from slavery and humiliations. It was precisely in the name of this noble goal that the October Revolution was carried out. Let us remember that among the first documents to appear were the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" and the "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People." In the first declaration it was noted that there remain only the peoples of Russia, who have suffered and are suffering oppression and arbitrariness, and whose emancipation must be begun immediately, whose liberation must be effected resolutely and irrevocably."

For the first time in history, it became necessary to emancipate more than 100 ethnic groups, which found themselves on various levels of social development. The "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" established the general principles: 1) Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; 2) the right of the peoples to free self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state; 3) the abolition of any and all national and national-religious privileges and disabilities; 4) the free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia. That is, the principles that were advanced first and foremost were the principles of the sovereignty and the equality of peoples, signifying their freedom, sovereignty and independence, which in turn presupposed the right to free self-determination, even to the point of state separation. The second principle not only emanated from the first, but also pointed to the unlimited nature of the sovereignty of the peoples. The two last points concretized and somewhat clarified the first two, basic supporting principles.

Thus, the peoples were offered a choice of the forms of their national-state existence. I would like to underscore that by the time of the adoption of the "Declaration of

the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," i.e., by 2 November 1917, not a single republic had been created, consequently, the peoples were granted identical rights, without any ranking of them.

However, the possibilities of realizing these rights differed among the peoples. Finland and Poland had long ago attained independence. For this reason, the question of their self-determination was decided through the departure from the composition of Russia. For the peoples of the North and the Far East, such a question did not present itself at all. For them, the problem of survival and preservation as an ethnic group was pressing. In the course of the development of the country, the following forms of self-determination took shape: The republic, the autonomous oblast, and the national area. With the formation of the USSR, a difference showed up also in the forms of the republics: Union and autonomous republic. The difference in levels of social development quite naturally advanced the principle of ranking. Ideal, of course, is the principle of self-ranking as the concrete manifestation of the principle of self-determination. However, in one way or another, all of this reduces itself to questions of the sovereignty of peoples and the sovereignty of the republics.

If we want to go forward along the road of the creation of a renewed Union, we will have to fully realize provision of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling [and Exploited] People", which has not been realized up to now. It looks like this: "At the same time, aiming at the creation of a really free and voluntary, and, consequently, a more complete and lasting union of the laboring classes of all the nations of Russia, the Third Congress of Soviets confines itself to the establishment of the fundamental principles of the federation of the Soviet Republics of Russia, leaving it to the workers and peasants of each nation to decide independently, at their own authorized Soviet congress, whether they wish to participate in the federal government and in the other federal Soviet institutions, and on what basis." So that the present-day declarations are, to express it in the words of the just-cited document, "the independent decision, at their own authorized congress" of the question of how and in what capacity to take part in the creation of the renewed Union.

Can there be any objections to this? We do not think so.

On the basis of the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, our Supreme Soviet, too, should confine itself to the establishment of the fundamental principles of the Federation of Soviet Republics, having left the decision of remaining questions to the republics. Then R. Khasbulatov would not have written: "Unfortunately, the content of the declarations adopted by the autonomous units of Russia is indicative of great confusion in the heads of the composers about such concepts as "state," "sovereignty," "autonomy," "self-government," and the "free will" of the people. He would simply have recognized that these concepts have not been developed in our

scientific literature, since prior to perestroika there was no necessity of this. And further, the high state post and rank of scholar would have led him to the necessity of attempting to give his understanding of these terms.

In our view, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that sovereignty and independence are identical. The only difference lies in the fact that sovereignty, in pure form, is not limited by anything, but self-government from the very beginning carries in itself the stamp of limitation. Sovereignty, if it exists, can be limited only by its bearer, while self-government is limited by someone from the outside. For this reason, sovereignty, as a rule, is correlated with the concept of "state," but self-government—with the concept of "oblast," including also with the definition of "autonomy." Autonomy is a form of self-government. As applied to the oblast—this is an instrument for the expansion of rights, the strengthening of its independence, but as applied to the republic, on the contrary, this is an instrument for the limitation of its sovereignty. For some reason, the republics are casting this word out from their name.

The present-day declarations of the republics concerning state sovereignty are an attempt to define their status. It is not ruled out that, in the next stage of the development of the republics and the union state, renewed declarations applicable to those conditions will be adopted. Such a possibility is embedded in the documents of October. This fully corresponds to the logic of the development of our state, which is called upon to secure its corresponding dynamic.

Now is the very time to make the transition from logic to history, since in the article by the respected R. Khasbulatov it is represented in an extremely peculiar manner. He writes: "The specific character of the RSFSR, unlike the other 14 union states lies in the fact that in Russia it is even theoretically impossible to raise the question 'of secession from the USSR.' There is nowhere to secede to! In a fatal manner, the creation of the USSR took place through the joining of other union republics to the RSFSR, some of which previously had been independent states."

Involuntarily two questions suggest themselves. Are there really any limitations for theory? Theoretically one can raise any question. And practice? Has it really not given sufficient examples? But, of course, the chief objection is called forth by the strange thesis of R. Khasbulatov, according to which the creation of the USSR occurred through the joining of the other union republics to the RSFSR. Why 14? At one time there were 16, you know. But the essence lies in the fact that the formation of the USSR took place not through the joining of other republics to the RSFSR. On the contrary, these republics themselves arose as the result of the collapse of the united and, as it even then also appeared to some people, indivisible Russia. Above all, Poland and Finland broke away, then the Baltic and the Transcaucasian republics. And only after this the unification began. Incidentally, Khasbulatov unsuccessfully used the

combination of words "the joining of the other union republics to the RSFSR." For the concept "joining" signifies the use of pressure and force, while the concept of "union status" [soyuznost] presupposes voluntariness and equality. The republics were not joined to the RSFSR, but entered into an equal union. It is a well-known fact that a total of four republics, not 14, were the founders of the USSR. Then the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic was transformed, and its component parts started to enter directly into the USSR, but not to be joined to the RSFSR, as Khasbulatov asserts. In 1940 the Baltic states and the Moldavian republic, transformed from an autonomous into a union republic, entered into the composition of the USSR, but again were not joined to the RSFSR.

In the conception of Khasbulatov, the RSFSR is the primordial monolith, united and indivisible. Meanwhile, even after the formation of the USSR, it [the RSFSR] tirelessly secreted [vydelyal iz sebya], but did not join to itself, new union republics. In 1924, the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the second convocation, by a decree of 14 October, reorganized the Turkestan Autonomous Republic, which had entered into the composition of the RSFSR, into separate autonomous units. In 1925, the Uzbek and Turkmen republics arose, which, by a decree of the 3rd Union Congress of Soviets, were accepted into the USSR, and were not joined to the RSFSR. In 1929, the Tajik Republic entered into the union the same way. In 1936 the Kazakh ASSR, then the Kirghiz ASSR, which had entered into the RSFSR, were transformed and entered into the composition of the USSR as union republics.

As is apparent, in this case, the process of the formation of the USSR continued not through the joining of republics to the RSFSR, but through the secretion of them from it. Such are some facts from the history of the national-state construction of the USSR. And it is not permissible for anyone to rearrange them in his own way, to "adjust" history to his own conception and notion. The system of these facts convincingly affirms the possibility of the transformation of republics from one qualitative state into another.

Perhaps, the central link of the conception of R. Khasbulatov is the refusal to regard the autonomous republics as states and on this basis the refusal of the lawfulness of the proclamation of their state sovereignty by them. But this, in turn, is done in order to compel them by force to sign the Federative Agreement and debar them from participation in the signing of the Union Agreement. Does the author really have not access to the texts of the constitutions of the republics, including the autonomous republics and the RSFSR, or does he expect that the reader will take his word? Let us together read through Article 78 of the Constitution of the RSFSR. It states: "The autonomous republic is a Soviet socialist state which a member of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic." But according to Khasbulatov it turns out that the autonomous units, and among them



the autonomous republics, "are not states, but administrative-state formations." Meanwhile the administrative-state formation, as a legal term, is completely absent. There are the concepts of "administrative-territorial organization" or "administrative-territorial unit," into which the territories of union or autonomous republics may be divided (cf., for example, "Yuridicheskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" [Legal Encyclopedic Dictionary], Moscow, Sovetskaya entsiklopediya, 1984). It is a pity that R. Khasbulatov, in spite of the RSFSR Constitution, wants to reduce the autonomous republics to the level of administrative-territorial units.

Apparently, counting on the lack of information of the readers, Khasbulatov incites them to an all-Russian referendum. It should not be thought that we are against referenda in general. Without a doubt, it is a good instrument for the determination of the will of the population. But do we apply the referendum to all situation without exception? Of course, no. It is necessary only in the solution of questions that are common for all. The question of the sovereignty of the Ukraine cannot be solved by a referendum on the scale of the country. This is only a question of the Ukraine. Let it itself solve this. The same goes for the question of the sovereignty of Yakutia. It is resolved not by the union and not by a Russian referendum. No one should have any doubt that sovereignty is freedom, and freedom is the natural right of every people.

Finally, I would like to dwell on something else. Recently a wave of intimidation of people with the collapse of Russia has spread. All of this has happened in our history before. They intimidated [people] also in the seventeenth century during the Polish invasion, they intimidated [people] also in 1812 during the invasion of Napoleon. They brandished the bugaboo of the disintegration of Russia in 1917. However, Russia did not disintegrate, but rather every time came out renewed from such a trial. And the present-day trials that have befallen it, without a doubt, will lead to renewal. Yes, a new Russia is being born. And there is no need to try to put the old coat on it. It is covered with patches, and it is impossible to wear it any more. The old Russia is vanishing before our eyes, and, really, it is not worthwhile to measure with its measures the new Russia that is coming into being. It is not Russia which is collapsing, but old conceptions about it are disintegrating.

Yes, there are many problems in the creation of the renewed Union. But they must be solved on the basis of voluntariness and equality of all people without exception.

Since the article of R. Khasbulatov cannot be but be regarded as an anticonstitutional attack, it is difficult to refrain from the question: Whose position does it represent? If it represents the personal position of the author, then why did he sign it as deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Or the position of the leadership of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, including B. Yeltsin?

We would very much like for it to be not a position, but only a misunderstanding.

## Caucasus

### Armenian Draft Law on Public Associations

91US00904 Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian  
27 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Draft Law of the Armenian Republic on Public Associations]

[Text] The Presidium of the 29th Congress of the Armenian Communist Party submits for public consideration the following draft of a Law of the Armenian Republic on Public Associations, which will be introduced as a legislative initiative in the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

## CHAPTER 1

### GENERAL PROVISIONS

#### ARTICLE 1. Right of citizens to establish public associations

The right of association, which is set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human rights, and which is further sanctioned by the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the Republic of Armenia, constitutes an inalienable right of the private citizen. The republic is interested in fostering the creative initiative and vigorous participation of citizens in affairs of state and society by guaranteeing them the freedom to establish public associations.

No one has the right to prevent a citizen of the Armenian Republic from being a member of one association or another, including the Communist Party.

#### ARTICLE 2. Concept of a public association

A public association is a voluntary organization originating in the exercise of the free will of citizens of the Armenian Republic who are united by a community of interests.

Political parties, mass movements, and labor unions, as well as organizations of veterans, women, young people or children, scientific or technical, educational or cultural, physical training or sports organizations, and other social groupings, such as creative unions, regional societies, foundations, and economic associations may be recognized as public associations.

The provisions of this law do not extend to cooperatives or any other kinds of organizations formed for commercial purposes or contributing to the extraction of profit (income) from other enterprises or organizations; to religious organizations; to local administrative bodies (soviets or other groups, such as microrayon, house, street, block, village or settlement committees); nor do they apply to independently functioning social bodies (such as voluntary people's patrols or Comrades'



Courts), the procedures for the establishment and operation of which are determined by other laws.

#### **ARTICLE 3. Legislation on public associations**

The legislation pertaining to public associations consists of the present law, which defines the legal grounds of public associations, and other legislative acts of the Armenian Republic.

#### **ARTICLE 4. Purposes for establishing public associations and their activities**

Public associations are established for the purposes of realizing and protecting civil, political, public, economic, social, and cultural rights and freedoms; for promoting the independent efforts of people participating in the conduct of governmental and public affairs; for furthering satisfaction in professional or amateur activities; for encouraging creative efforts in science, technology, and the arts; for protecting public health; for charitable activities; for cultural and educational, sporting and health purposes; for protecting the environment and monuments of history and culture; for patriotic and humanitarian public awareness programs; for extending international ties of peace and friendship between peoples; as well as for the realization of other activities not forbidden by law.

Expressly forbidden is the establishment or maintenance of public associations possessing the purpose or the means to overthrow, to alter the constitutional order by force, or to violate the territorial integrity of the Armenian Republic; as is propaganda serving to incite war, violence, cruelty, or social discord, including class, racial, national or religious conflicts; and any other act subject to criminal punishment. The creation of paramilitary organizations, armed units, or any other public associations that infringe upon the rights and interests of citizens protected by law or the health and moral well-being of the population are likewise prohibited.

#### **ARTICLE 5. Principles of establishing and maintaining public associations**

Public associations are established and maintained upon a basis of voluntary participation and equality among members (participants) in accordance with principles of lawful and open self-government.

All public associations, in performing the functions provided for in their programs and rules, operate within the framework of the Constitution and the other laws currently in force in the Armenian Republic.

The participation or nonparticipation of any citizen in the activities of a public association cannot serve as grounds for restricting his or her rights or freedoms, or as a condition of employment in any state, cooperative, or any other organization, or as grounds for failure to fulfill any obligation prescribed by law.

It is not permitted to stipulate requirements for membership in the official documents of any public association.

Staff members of public associations are covered by existing labor laws, social security, and workers' social insurance.

#### **ARTICLE 6. Public associations and the state**

The state ensures the rights and lawful interests of public associations and, in accordance with the Constitution of the Armenian Republic, guarantees the conditions for carrying out their prescribed tasks.

The state provides material and financial support for organizations of youth and of children; it maintains preferential taxation policies with respect to them, and it grants children's organizations the right to use the premises of schools, extracurricular institutions, clubs, palaces or houses of culture, sports and other kinds of facilities without charge or under favorable terms.

Interference by state agencies or officials in the activities of public associations or by public associations in the activities of state agencies and officials is not permitted, excepting under conditions provided by law.

The activities of political party organizations and other public associations are to be carried out by their members (participants) during nonworking hours and at the expense of their associations.

State financing of the activities of political parties and mass social movements in furtherance of political ends is forbidden, except in instances of financing election campaigns in accordance with legislation governing the election of people's deputies.

Issues affecting the interests of public associations are to be resolved under conditions provided under the law by state agencies and economic management organizations with the participation or concurrence of the public associations concerned.

#### **ARTICLE 7. All-Union and other public associations**

Within the USSR the following kinds of public associations are established and maintained: All-Union, republic (including Union and autonomous republic), inter-republic, and local public associations, as well as international associations.

All-Union public associations consist of associations which extend their activities under the law to all or to a majority of Union republics and which maintain their organizations in these republics. Moreover, an all-Union political party or trade union is required to have no fewer than 5,000 members who are citizens of the USSR.

#### **ARTICLE 8. Unions of public associations**

Public associations have the right to join together on voluntary bases into unions of public associations. The procedure for the formation and activity of unions of

public associations, as well as the procedure for cessation of their activity, are determined in accordance with the present law.

## CHAPTER 2

### FORMING PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS AND TERMINATING THEIR ACTIVITIES

#### ARTICLE 9. Forming public associations

Public associations are formed at the initiative of no fewer than 10 citizens of the Armenian Republic.

Public associations with the exception of political parties and trade unions may also be formed by other public associations.

The persons who initiate the formation of a public association convene a constituent congress (conference) or general meeting at which they adopt a charter (set of rules or basic regulations) and establish governing bodies.

#### ARTICLE 10. Membership in public associations

Citizens of the Armenian Republic may be members of public associations. Under the rules of public associations, persons who are not Armenian citizens or who are citizens of other countries may also become members of public associations with the exception of political parties.

Citizens who have reached the age of 14 are eligible for membership in youth organizations affiliated with public associations.

Under conditions provided for under the rules, members of collectives or collective labor organizations, enterprises, institutions, or citizens' associations may participate in the activities of public associations with the exception of political parties or trade unions.

Any discrimination or victimization with regard to membership in a public association is prohibited and punishable by law.

#### ARTICLE 11. Rules of public associations

The rules of public associations should provide for the following:

1. Name, goals, and tasks of the public association;
2. Organizational structure of the public association and territory within which it carries out its activities;
3. When the association has an established membership, conditions and procedures applicable to admission and termination of membership;
4. Rights and duties of members (participants);

5. Jurisdiction, rules of procedure, and tenure of governing bodies of the public association and its organizations;

6. Sources of assets and other property of the public association and its organizations;

7. Procedure for amending or altering the rules of the public association;

8. Procedure for terminating the activities of the public association.

The rules may include additional provisions applicable to the activities of a public association.

The rules of a public association may not be at variance with the canons of law.

#### ARTICLE 12. Registering the rules of public associations

The Ministry of Justice of the Armenian Republic registers the rules of a public association. The rules of an inter-republic public organization are registered by the Ministry of Justice of the USSR or by an appropriate body of one of the Union republics. The rules of international associations operating in the Armenian Republic are similarly registered. The rules of other public associations are registered by the state bodies upon which this function has been conferred by legislative acts of Armenian Republic.

To register the rules of an all-Union or inter-republic association, a declaration shall be submitted within one month of adopting the rules, signed by the members of the governing body of the given public association and indicating each member's place of residence. Appended to the declaration shall be the rules, together with the minutes of the founding congress (conference) or general meeting adopting the rules, and other materials in compliance with the requirements as set forth in articles 7 and 9 of the present law.

The procedures and periods for registering the rules of other public associations are determined by legislative statutes of the Armenian Republic.

Alterations and amendments of the rules of public associations are subject to registration in accordance with the same procedures and temporal constraints that apply to registration of the rules.

The bodies which register the rules of public organizations are charged with maintaining the registration rolls of these associations.

In accordance with civil law, public associations or their organizations (bodies) may be recognized as judicial persons from the day of registration of their rules.

Registration fees may be levied in amounts and according to procedures established by law in the Armenian Republic when registering the rules of a public association and any subsequent alterations or amendments to them.

**ARTICLE 13. Refusal to register the rules of a public association**

Registration of the rules of a public association may be denied in the event that they contradict the provisions of articles 4, 5, or 11 of this law or the rules of an association registered previously under the same name.

A refusal to register rules shall be communicated in writing, indicating the provisions of the law contradicted by the rules submitted.

Any refusal to register the rules of a public association may be appealed and reviewed by the courts as a matter of civil law.

A refusal to register the rules of an all-Union or inter-republic public association may be appealed to the Armenian Supreme Court.

**ARTICLE 14. Symbols of public associations**

Public associations may have their own symbolic emblems, flags, and pennants.

Emblems of public associations are established by their governing bodies in accordance with the rules. They may not, however, serve propaganda purposes, as indicated in Article 4 paragraph 2 of the present law.

Flags and pennants are subject to state registration in accordance with procedures determined by the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Republic.

**ARTICLE 15. Terminating the activities of public associations**

The activities of public associations may be terminated by a process of liquidation or by reorganization (merger, amalgamation, or subdivision).

Reorganization of public associations is brought about by decision of their congresses (conferences) or general meetings. Registration of the rules of public associations newly formed following their reorganization shall be according to procedures set forth in Article 12 of this law.

Public associations may be eliminated upon the decision of a congress (conference) or general meeting or in accordance with principles and procedures set forth in Article 23 of this law.

The property of a public association that has been abolished by decision of its congress (conference) or general meeting shall be disposed of in furtherance of the goals provided for in its rules.

**CHAPTER 3****RIGHTS AND CONDITIONS OF PUBLIC ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES****ARTICLE 16. Rights of public associations.**

The rights of public associations are ratified by their rules.

To carry out their objectives and tasks as defined in the rules, program documents, or other acts, public associations voluntarily disseminate information regarding their goals and activities, and under circumstances and procedures established by law they enjoy the following rights:

Participating in the formation of agencies of state power and administration;

Initiating legislation;

Contributing to decisions by agencies of state power and administration;

Representing and protecting the legal interests of their members (participants) in state and public agencies;

Exercising other powers provided by the present law and other legislation of the Armenian Republic.

**ARTICLE 17. Political parties, mass movements, and trade unions**

Parties expressing the political will of their members have the basic responsibilities of participating in the formation of agencies of state power and administration and also of exercising power through their own representatives elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies.

Parties have policy documents published for the information of the public. Parties are equal under the law.

Parties have the right to nominate candidates as people's deputies, including a single slate of candidates; to conduct election campaigns; and to form coalitions of deputies within the soviets at various levels.

Mass movements pursue political and other goals, but do not have an established membership.

Military servicemen and officials assigned to law enforcement agencies are not subject in their official duties to the requirements of the laws or bound by the decisions of political parties and mass movements acting to further political objectives.

Trade unions in their relations with state agencies, economic organizations, cooperatives, or other public associations represent and protect the interests of trade unions in the field of industry and in economic, social, and cultural affairs. All trade unions are equal under the law.

Political parties and trade unions have established individual memberships only.

**ARTICLE 18. Production and economic activities of public associations**

Public associations, acting in accordance with legally established procedures, carry out production and economic activities, and they establish enterprises and cost-accounting organizations, possessing the rights of judicial persons, exclusively for the purpose of fulfilling their prescribed tasks.

Income derived from such production or economic activities may not be distributed among the members (participants) of such associations; it may be used only to fulfill lawfully prescribed tasks. The use by public associations of their assets for charitable purposes is permitted even if not specifically stated in the rules.

Enterprises and organizations founded by public associations contribute payments to the budget in a manner and amount established by law.

**ARTICLE 19. Property ownership by public associations**

Public associations and their earnestness may own buildings, structures, housing, equipment, stocks, health or cultural and educational facilities, funds, stock certificates, or other forms of paper assets or property necessary to carry out activities as prescribed by the rules. Among the property possessed by public associations may also be publishing facilities, as well as other enterprises and charitable institutions established with the use of funds by these associations in accordance with the tasks prescribed by the rules.

Some forms of private property may be established by legislative acts in the republic that cannot be owned by public associations because of state or public security considerations or international treaty obligations.

The financial resources of public associations may be accrued from membership dues if so provided for under the rules; voluntary contributions and donations; the giving of lectures in accordance with the rules; exhibitions; sporting events or other devices such as lotteries; or it may represent income from production or other economic activity, such as publishing, not prohibited by law.

Political parties shall publish their operating budgets annually for the information of the public.

Property ownership by public associations is protected by law.

The rights of unions and public associations within them to possess, make use of, and dispose of property belong to these unions and their public associations.

**ARTICLE 20. Publishing and the Mass Media**

Public associations are entitled to institute publishing and other mass informational activities in accordance with the body of laws of the Armenian Republic pertaining to printing and the mass media.

**CHAPTER 4**

**MONITORING PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS AND CRIMINAL LIABILITY**

**ARTICLE 21. Monitoring and oversight of public associations**

Financial bodies exercise oversight control in monitoring sources of income of public associations, amounts of funds received by them, and taxes they pay in accordance with the tax laws.

The Republic Office of the Procurator has oversight responsibility for compliance of public associations with the laws.

State bodies charged with registering the rules of public associations monitor observance of the rules with respect to the goals of the public association. The registering agency is authorized to require of association's governing body an account of decisions made; to direct its representatives to become involved in the measures carried out by the association; and to obtain explanations from its members and other citizens on matters related to observance of the rules by the association.

**ARTICLE 22. Grounds for liability**

Law violations with respect to public associations entail criminal, administrative, material liability or other forms of accountability provided for by the laws of the Armenian Republic.

Officials of state and public agencies as well as citizens who are culpable in this regard shall be held responsible for law violations affecting public associations.

In the event of such a law violation, all public associations, including those associations that have not registered their rules, shall be held accountable under the law.

In the event that a public association has engaged in activities beyond the limits of its tasks or goals as set by the rules, or is found to be in violation of the law, the governing body of this public association may be issued a written warning by the agency that has registered its rules or by the republic Procurator.



**ARTICLE 23. Abolition of public associations owing to either violations of law or requirements of the rules**

A public association is abolished by judicial decision under circumstances of misconduct provided for in Article 4 paragraph 2 of the present law.

A public association may be abolished for misconduct such as described in Article 22 paragraph 4 upon commission of a second offense within the course of one year.

The property of a public association that has been abolished by judicial decision may become the property of the state without compensation.

Public associations are abolished by decision of the Supreme Court of the Armenian Republic upon the recommendation of the republic Procurator, by the republic Ministry of Justice, or by the agency that registered the rules of a given public association, as well as upon the recommendation of other agencies or officials so authorized by the laws of the Republic. The decision of the republic Supreme Court to abolish a public association is not subject to appeal.

The abolition of other public associations is to be carried out by the court in accordance with procedures established by the laws of the Republic.

**CHAPTER 5****INTERNATIONAL TIES OF PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS, INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS, AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES****ARTICLE 24. International public associations**

Public associations, acting in accordance with their rules, may join international (non-governmental) associations; they may maintain international contacts and ties, and they may conclude appropriate agreements.

**ARTICLE 25. International public associations**

A public association established in the Armenian Republic is recognized as an international association if its activities, in accordance with its rules, extend across the territory of the republic and one or more foreign countries. The rules governing international public associations are subject to registration in accordance with articles 11 and 12 of the present law.

If a public association established in the republic joins an international public association established in other republics or abroad, the rules of the latter public association are likewise subject to registration.

A public association whose activities extend into the territories of other republics or to a foreign country shall submit to the republic Ministry of Justice or appropriate republic agency its rules, together with any necessary alterations or amendments, for re-registration.

Public associations whose purposes are to strengthen peace, to develop international cooperation, or to perform other actions of a humanitarian nature may enjoy preferential treatment established by law.

The provisions of this law are applicable to the activities of any branches (affiliates or other organizational subdivisions) of the public associations of other republics or foreign countries that extend into the territory of the Armenian Republic.

**ARTICLE 26. International agreements**

Should any regulations be established by Union agreement or by international treaty other than the regulations contained in this law, the regulations of the Union agreement or international treaty shall take precedence.

**Armenian CP Congress Policies' Resolution**

91US0089A Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian  
21 Oct 90 pp 1-2

["Resolution of the 29th Armenian Communist Party Congress on the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee Political Report"—GOLOS ARMENII headline]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the Communist Party of Armenia political report, the 29th party congress observes that the forum of the republic's Communists was convened at a difficult, pivotal time for the Communist Party. The flagrant mistakes made over decades by the party and state in the activity of society, the justifiable discontent of the people's masses to which they gave rise, their lack of faith in the success of the cause of perestroika, and at same time, on the other hand, the formation of a society of free citizens and a turnabout toward the highest national goals and interests, humanism, democracy, and social justice have led to major and irreversible changes in people's social and national consciousness and the political life of the republic.

A multiparty system and democratic authorities are taking shape in the republic, and interest in the solution of acute national problems, a pluralism of opinions, and free elections has increased. The republic's parliament has adopted the Declaration on the Independence of Armenia. Free-thinking and glasnost are becoming established increasingly firmly. A start has been made on the dismantling of state-monopoly relations alienating people from property and the results of their labor.

All this has become possible to a decisive extent as a result of the policy of perestroika, glasnost, and democratization adopted by the party in April 1985 and the new political thinking.

The congress notes that mistakes have been made in the course of perestroika and renewal in the political, economic, social, and moral spheres that have had a disastrous effect on the authority and position of the Communist Party of Armenia. These have been primarily

failures in nationality policy, the reluctance and inability of the center to solve the problems of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and the social protection of the refugees, the interruptions in the official programs pertaining to elimination of the consequences of the devastating earthquake in Armenia, the persistent and prolonged blockade of the republic on the part of Azerbaijan, miscalculations in the implementation of radical economic reform, inadequate struggle against crime and unlawful actions, and the failure to adopt measures to prevent a decline in the population's living standard. The concentrated expression of the negative processes has been the general crisis of the reigning political system in the country, the disintegration of the consumer market and unmanageable inflation. The authority of state power has declined at all levels of economic leadership, and a vacuum in the control of social production and distribution has formed. The operating tactics of the authorities have been manifestly inadequate to the tasks confronting the republic and the people. Great responsibility for these consequences is borne by the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee and its bureau, which have displayed a slowness and indecisiveness that prevented the timely stabilization of the political, economic, and legal situation, and the mastery of modern forms and methods of political work.

A political, socioeconomic, and moral-psychological situation inauspicious for the Communist Party continues to intensify: It has been complicated by the escalation of tension in Artsakh, the continued decline in state and labor discipline, major breakdowns in the economy, the growth of violence and crime and the increase in corruption and profiteering, and the shortages of food and basic necessities. The Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee has conducted an unsatisfactory struggle against negative phenomena, bribe-taking, embezzlement, and the shadow economy.

The congress believes that the Communist Party of Armenia should be an independent party with its own program and rules and should express and defend the interests of the working people and the public at large, recognizing the priority of national interests over all others. It will be devoted to humanitarian values common to all mankind, the principle of social justice, and the idea of Armenia's state sovereignty within the framework of a renewed Union. The accomplishment of the task of a renewal of the party taking account of the new political realities lies on the paths of complete renunciation of the idea of monopolized political leadership, command functions, strict centralism and authoritarian thinking and dogmatism, and mastery of the art of ideological work among the population and a capacity for winning people's minds by the power of truth and cooperating with other political organizations and currents.

The congress emphasizes that while aspiring to a revival of democratic values common to all mankind, the party must emphatically renounce any restrictions impeding

the normal natural-historical development of society, reject ossified ideological schemes that have not withstood the test of practice, and dissociate itself from everything that fails to correspond to modern scientific views.

The congress believes that while making the highest national interests paramount, the Communist Party of Armenia must remain a party of internationalists defending the principles of the friendship and cooperation of the peoples and rejecting chauvinism, racism, and other manifestations of reactionary ideology. The cornerstone of the Communist Party of Armenia's nationality policy should be recognition of the right of the nations and peoples to free self-determination. Healthy interethnic relations may be shaped and developed on the basis of profound respect for the honor and dignity, national traditions, and culture of each people. The party must continue to give constant attention to and display full understanding of the vital and spiritual problems of all nations and national groups living in the republic and contribute to the development of their cultures in every possible way.

Questions of society's spiritual renewal should constitute the core of the party's ideological activity. Paramount attention should be paid to the problems of development of national culture and science, Armenian studies, and a dispassionate illustration of the history of the Armenian people's national liberation struggle, Armenian social and political parties and currents and, finally, the history of the Communist Party of Armenia.

Noting that the roots of the present crisis of society and the party lie in the past, it is essential to initiate serious work on the study and creation of an objective picture of the path traversed, and make an honest and just evaluation thereof.

The congress supports the revelation in full of history's blanks—be they problems connected with the repressive measures in Armenia, the forcible collectivization, or the demoralization of the stagnation period. The Communist Party condemns crimes against the people, the party, and the individual, emphatically dissociates itself from them, and will do everything possible to restore flouted social and political justice and prevent such in the future.

The congress at the same time notes that it is impossible to cancel out our entire history, which has many not only tragic but also shining pages, and deny the results of the labor of generations of people. The majority of party members has honestly served the interests of the Armenian people and cannot be responsible for the crimes of Stalinism against them and the deformations of the political leadership in the stagnation years.

The congress is emphatically opposed to attacks on the Communists and the attempts by certain forces to kindle anticommunist hysteria in the republic and put the squeeze on the party economically and politically.

The republic Communist Party should see as its patriotic duty assistance to the implementation of the program of national consolidation and civic reconciliation and the extensive development of political, business, and cultural relations with the internal and external diaspora. The congress believes that a principal party goal is the achievement of satisfaction of the just historical and legal demands of the Armenian people and international recognition of the genocide of 1915.

The Communist Party of Armenia Congress emphatically condemns the position of the central authorities in the solution of urgent national questions, specifically, self-determination for the NKAO, and also the policy of apartheid in respect to the Armenian population pursued by the Azerbaijan leadership. The congress demands the immediate restoration in the NKAO of the oblast soviet of people's deputies and the party structures, an enhancement of the status of the oblast, the lifting of the political, economic, transport, and news blockade, the security of the Armenian population, and undeviating observance of its constitutional rights.

The congress attaches significance to the question of creating conditions for the extensive development and application in all spheres of the life of the Republic of Armenia. The Communist Party is prepared to submit for consideration by parliament a draft of a corresponding law on the Armenian language.

It is necessary to actively contribute to the formation and effective development of the national school and the upgrading of higher educational institution education and training.

An important place in the spiritual revival of society and the fostering of moral standards belongs to the Armenian Church, and the Communist Party of Armenia should be a supporter of the creation of conditions for its normal activity.

The congress finds that realization of the Communist Party's program goals requires the implementation of both extreme anticrisis measures and a long-term policy pertaining to the republic's socioeconomic transformation. The Communist Party of Armenia will strive for these goals by political methods and the conscious and concerted actions of the Communists, including those working in the soviets, state authorities, and public organizations, taking advantage of its constitutional right to legislative initiative and winning the trust of the masses.

While recognizing the need for creating a mechanism of transition to market relations, the congress considers fundamentally impermissible at the present stage the republic's rejection of the single all-Union market and closely integrated economic relations with other regions of the country.

The party sees as the main purpose of the party's socioeconomic policy for the coming period, stabilization of the people's living standard and, subsequently, its

elevation to a qualitatively new level based on radical transformations in ownership relations, harmonization of the interaction of man and nature, the strengthening and development of the spiritual and intellectual potential of the people, and the establishment of social justice and the genuine power of the people.

The congress believes that Armenia's Communists should concentrate their efforts primarily on the accomplishment of the most important social tasks, namely:

the stage-by-stage fulfillment of the entire program of elimination of the consequences of the earthquake, the social rehabilitation of the affected population, and the orientation of the republic's entire national economic complex toward the speediest revival of the devastated cities and villages;

the efficient regulation of migration processes, the rational settlement and employment of refugees, the accelerated creation of the necessary conditions for their full involvement in all spheres of the republic's activity, and the formation of a flexible mechanism of protection of the working people in the sphere of employment, including a system of vocational training and retraining and a guaranteed level of sufficiency in the event of temporary unemployment; an acceleration of the solution of the housing problem and stimulation of the work on expanding cooperative and individual housing construction, the allocation for this purpose of plots of land, and the development of the construction materials industry and construction industry and the implementation of a new city-planning policy providing for the comprehensive nature and modern forms of the development of localities;

the implementation of a fundamentally new ecological policy, the rational use of natural resources, the completion of all measures pertaining to protection of Lake Sevan, an appreciable improvement in the state of the atmosphere and water basins and agricultural land, particularly the Ararat Valley, and legislative enshrinement of the strictest scientific expert appraisal and consideration of public opinion when a decision is being made on the problem of the development and location of the productive forces and the shaping of the population's ecological culture;

defense of the social interests of the needy categories of the population, including a guaranteed subsistence minimum and special concern for the strata and groups of the population in need of priority assistance and support of society—war and labor veterans, large and young families, single women, elderly people, invalids and orphan children.

The congress emphasizes that the creation of a dependable base of social progress requires large-scale economic maneuvers and an acceleration of the democratization of economic relations based on the citizens being accorded economic freedom.



The congress resolutely supports the process of privatization and the share-capitalization of certain state-owned enterprises, the demonopolization of industries, free enterprise, the leasing of small businesses and stores, and the incorporation in the sphere of buying and selling of housing, stocks and other securities, some production capital and scientific developments and the formation of a market infrastructure and price liberalization.

The congress supports the efforts aimed at an acceleration of the formation in the republic of commodity and stock markets, a reforming of the banking system and the system of taxation, the creation of conditions for equal competition of all forms of ownership, and the accelerated development of small businesses, particularly in the sphere of consumer goods production.

The congress supports the demand of the thousands-strong "Nairit" Science-Production Association work force concerning the need for the urgent examination of its problems in the Republic of Armenia Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

The congress emphasizes that an important measure for the protection of the republic's economic sovereignty should be its incorporation in the system of world economic relations, the creation of most-favored-nation conditions for the attraction of foreign investments, the pursuit of an open doors policy, and the accelerated development of joint ventures and border trade and the entire foreign economic complex.

The congress advocates the immediate return of the land to the peasants, an acceleration of land reform and the enactment of laws on private ownership of land and the peasant farm. The congress believes that all forms of economic management and ownership—economically strong collective and state farms, tenant and peasant farms, land cooperatives and the owners of private property—should operate at the first stage of land reform under equal management conditions.

The most important tasks of all party organizations and each Communist are active participation in the realization of the economic and agrarian policy of the Communist Party of Armenia and assistance in the training of personnel capable of working under the new economic conditions.

The 29th Communist Party of Armenia Congress believes that the activity of the Central Committee and its Bureau and Secretariat, as well as the city, rayon and primary organizations and the party's personnel policy are in need of radical restructuring. It is necessary to emphatically abandon the schedule-of-appointments personnel policy, with its associated manifestations of subjectivism and arbitrary action, local preference and protectionism and disregard for the principles of the democratic selection and promotion of personnel. It is essential to give the party a new, democratic appearance and a second wind in order that it really serve the interests of the working people and the whole nation and

win people's trust. All the party's ideological and organizing work relying on the broad opinion of the Communists ascertained via referenda on the key issues of the life of the party and society should be geared to this.

The Central Committee should constantly make a responsible and objective analysis of the situation and suggest to the lower party components and society ways out of the crisis and a solution of the numerous problems that have accumulated. It should concentrate its attention on a strengthening of its ties to the masses, the development of democracy in the party, and the restoration of its authority and influence. It is extremely important to seek public consensus for securing civic and national harmony by way of constructive dialogue with various political parties and public movements in the republic and the foreign diaspora and to create to this end a network of social and political centers and party debating clubs.

The congress considers as a primary task the decisive enhancement of the role and independence of the primary organizations in the life of the party and the Communists being afforded opportunities for extensive participation in the formulation and realization of party policy. The efficient work of the party organizations via the place of residence and various communist associations should be provided for here.

The congress emphasizes that the party should cooperate closely with youth, trade union, and women's organizations, and should seek their active involvement in the social structures.

The congress advocates the transfer of the fullness of power to the soviets and the party's effective interaction with them. The party should contribute to the election as deputies of the best representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia.

The congress finds extremely important the intensification by representatives of the Communist Party of parliamentary activity. Without well organized, thoughtful parliamentary work, the party will be unable to achieve success in the political and ideological spheres. The Communists, communist deputies particularly, are called upon to make active use of the right of legislative initiative and master the art of work in parliament and in the local soviets. The congress believes that it is essential to rapidly form an effective Communist Party faction in the Republic of Armenia Parliament.

The congress believes that the party press is in need of considerable restructuring. In the new political atmosphere it is essential that the newspaper and journal editorial offices develop their own line and strive consistently, at a high professional level, to convey the soundness of party policy to the readers. Communist journalists are duty bound to hold clear-cut positions. The political and economic activity of party publishing should be fundamentally transformed and considerably strengthened.

The congress believes that only the creation of a state based on the rule of law will provide for the protection of the national interests of the Armenian people, their material and spiritual requirements, security of life and property, a guaranteed right to labor, defense of the rights of the nations and the individual, freedom of belief and worship, and the development of science, education, and culture.

The revelation of the people's creative possibilities and all fundamental questions of democratization and radical renewal of society should be reflected in the basic law of the Republic of Armenia. The congress advocates the speediest elaboration and adoption of a new constitution, which should provide for a clear separation of legislative, executive, and judicial authority and the delineation of the responsibility and competence of the state authorities. The congress advocates the development of a dependable and efficient mechanism for the unswerving fulfillment of enacted laws, assurance of law and order, and the defense of citizens' constitutional rights.

The congress considers an urgent task the speediest possible adoption of the rules of the Communist Party of Armenia and its program, drafts of which will be submitted for discussion in the primary organizations and by all Communists.

The 29th Communist Party of Armenia Congress calls on the Communists, the public at large, and all honest people of the republic to consistently pursue a policy of fruitful cooperation and interaction with all political forces in the republic and the diaspora in the search for a fruitful way out of the profound social, socioeconomic, and moral-psychological crisis and the highest interests and aspirations of the Armenian people.

#### **Armenian Liberal Democratic Party Profiled**

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25 Oct 90 p 3

["Our presentation:" "Of the People, By the People, For the People"—EPOKHA headline]

#### **[Text] RAMKAVAR AZATAKAN PARTY**

##### **Principles**

The Ramkavar Azatakan Party (Armenian Liberal Democratic Party, LDP) is, as its name implies, simultaneously a liberal (free) and democratic party. Democracy (power of the people) in its Western, noble sense means working and struggling in national-state and social and economic life for realization of the principles of free elections and freedom of speech, ideals, thoughts, and worship.

Devoted to the ideas of free economic management, the Ramkavar Azatakan Party employs in practice the most progressive forms of private ownership. It is a champion and defender of human rights. All citizens are for it equal before the law.

The Ramkavar Azatakan Party rejects class struggle and revolution and believes merely in the evolution of social life, national development, class coexistence, the voluntary cooperation of labor, capital, and talent, and personal initiative. At the same time, however, the Ramkavar Azatakan Party, relying on the corresponding state laws and genuine supervision on the part of the unions, struggles against state and private monopoly.

The Ramkavar Azatakan Party rejects a state monopoly of property and public ownership. In this sense the Ramkavar Azatakan Party is opposed to communism and socialism, considering them teachings not conforming to national singularities and the capabilities and ideals of the Armenian people. On the other hand, the Ramkavar Azatakan Party, taking advantage of the corresponding laws and rules, struggles against individual privilege, simultaneously supporting trade union strikes against unilateral privileges.

Ramkavar Azatakan is a moderate party. It accepts conservatism to the extent that this is necessary to preserve our national distinctiveness and prefers radicalism when it is obvious that this alone can eliminate obstacles to progress.

Nothing can be higher for the Ramkavar Azatakan Party than the authority of the will of the people. Ramkavars consider the power of the people the core of the system of government.

The philosophy of the Ramkavar Azatakan Party is based on the principles of the hegemony of the public will, application of the natural rights of the individual and the group, and social advancement.

The Ramkavar Azatakan Party struggles for the economic and political strengthening, enrichment of the spiritual life, and the social well-being of the Armenian people and Armenia. More than ever today the main goals and powerful motives of the existence of the Ramkavar Azatakan Party remain the supreme interests of the Armenian people.

##### **Purposes**

1. To ensure and preserve the independence of Armenia.
2. To restore the territorial integrity of Armenia under state authority by way of the liberation of all captured land.
3. To seek recognition of the genocide against Armenians on the part of states and the highest international authorities and also restitution of territorial and material losses to Armenia on the part of Turkey.
4. To exercise hegemony of the public will—democratic and liberal principles (respect for basic human rights, private property, free enterprise, and so forth) on the territory of the Republic of Armenia.
5. To work for the economic, political, social, and cultural flourishing of Armenia.

6. To create the social, political, and economic prerequisites for the unification of the Armenian nation within Armenia's national borders.

7. To strengthen mutual multilateral relations between Armenia and Armenians of the domestic and overseas diaspora for the joint realization of the basic interests and survival of the Armenian people.

8. To recognize the Armenian Apostolic Church as the treasure house of our spiritual values and a mechanism of the spiritual connection between all parts of the Armenian people and to support its neutrality against party and state encroachments.

#### Historical Information

The history of the Ramkavar Azatakan Party is subdivided into two periods: The first period begins in Vani (1885) with the creation of the "Armenakan" Party and subsequently "Reorganized Gnchakyan" (1896), "Sakhmanadir-ramkavar" (1908), "Gakhaparaksakan" (1909), "Zhogovrdakan" (1917), and "Miutenakan" (1919). The second period begins 1 October 1921 with the conclusive merger of all the above parties in Istanbul (Constantinople) into the Ramkavar Azatakan Party. The activity of the LDP has since then developed in three areas:

1. In Armenian colonies overseas: organization of Armenian colonies, assurance of their local rights and interests, introduction and promotion of democratic principles in the management of national affairs, defense of national structures, including the Armenian Apostolic Church and the "Armenian General Charitable Union," inculcation of love for the fatherland with the aid of youth centers, clubs, and schools, development of the economic life of overseas Armenians, and so forth.

2. In relation to the fatherland: preponderance of the national (not political) thrust of the work performed: economic and cultural assistance to our people, strengthening of cultural ties, organization of repatriation and so forth, while not simultaneously renouncing the right to criticize the form of government.

3. In the international arena: seeking universal recognition of the genocide against Armenians and the just demands of the Armenian people.

#### Central Asia

##### Kazakh Writers Cite Army Ethnic Problem, Call for Republic Units

90US1310 Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIEYTI in Kazakh  
17 Aug 90 p 7

[Letter Signed by various Kazakh writers: "Let Us Strengthen the Republic Defense Capacity"]

[Text] Recently, national newspapers and magazines have been writing without end about the improper things now taking place within the Soviet Army today. I.

Morzharretto, reserve first level sergeant-major, laments that "when we hear about alcoholism, among officers, and of favoritism shown friends unable to fulfill their duties, and of common disgraces such as violence among soldiers, and of 'grandfatherism' [dedovshchina], alongside such glorious events in the history of the Red Army as the defense of Sevastopol or the taking of Berlin, we are appalled." (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, 23 January 1990). In the same vein, Lieutenant-colonel V. Durnev, chief of a Soviet Army military combined political division, has said: "We say nothing, unfortunately, about things such as 'grandfatherism' and other improper relationships counter to military regulation ..., which cast a shameful light on military service and which continue to do so." (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, 24 February 1990).

"As a USSR people's deputy," writes Major V. Lopatin (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 16, 1990), "I am often among the ranks of soldiers. But wherever I go, I encounter one thing: 'grandfatherism,' that is, assignment of space in a given barracks according to ethnic affiliation, officers covering up offenses, fights between commanders and non-commissioned officers."

All of those signing this letter have participated in the Great Patriotic War and have spent 5-6 years of our youth in the ranks of the Soviet Army after that time. The unpleasant idea of "grandfatherism," which is rotting the ranks of the military, was unknown to us. Its secret was revealed to us in a letter published in SOVERSHENNO SEKRETNO (No 2, 1990) from a mother in Minsk City, N.S. Menzhinskaya: "Indeed mothers, a 'grandfather' on duty at night has terrified a young soldier in a medical unit, saying that he will kill him. The 'grandfather' forced him to go on duty in his place if he wanted to avoid harm. In my view, this is the reason why our children see death before their eyes each day, and are frightened to death. You can see why the young men are in the hospital. Has not your son, whom you know so well, come home with his entire body black and blue from being hit by a belt buckle? Has your son not come home stretched out in a coffin?..."

Adyl Yakubov, Uzbekistan people's writer and USSR people's deputy, and Uzbekistan people's writer Timur Pulatov have told in issue No 10 of OGONEK from this year the bitter truth about an Uzbek soldier who died under mysterious circumstances while in the military, and who was buried without his parents' knowledge. Imanaliyeva Rawshan, who lives in Aqkol village in Zhambyl Oblast, has written about the following incident. Her son Qayrat was supposed to return home in 1985 after completing military service. The parents waited and waited and began to worry. When Rawshan then went to the military unit to find out what had happened, she received the answer: "Your son has deserted." This is what the commanders of the unit first said about the soldier who had completed his military obligation. The second time she went they told her: "Soldiers have been killed." Thus there were more than a few who come to that unit seeking their children.



Afterwards the crime of incompetency was disclosed. A group of soldiers were sent on a dangerous mission. The officers forgot to pull them out at the right time. All died. (How can one be more incompetent than that?!). But the parents of the soldiers had been told nothing, and those accused have not been made to bear the responsibility. A mother in another village who sent her son off to the army was astounded when she was given her son's bones in a coffin eight months later. (SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN 7 Aug 90). The reason for the misfortune is unknown; no one knows the truth...

It is not unexpected that a committee of soldiers' mothers has been formed in Moscow, the capital of the USSR. The letters which have come to this committee from all parts of the Soviet Union ask: "Who is responsible for the crime whereby the lives of people in the army are toyed with?" We can imagine what answer is given in reply. In essence, the answer lies in the apathy of those managing the military organizations of our country, and in the attitudes of those who have been unable to rid themselves of old methods of control. The open letter of 50 Kazakh soldiers serving in the military in Komsomolsk City in the Far East which was sent to the republic president is one proof of this (LENINSHIL ZHAS 3 Aug 90). The spiritual breakdown of these young people moves us all.

The Soviet Constitution is the fruit of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In accordance with this constitution, we cannot but send off our sons and grandsons to fulfill their duty of defending their nation. But, in view of difficult conditions now in the Army, we also cannot entrust the fate of the younger generation to those now in charge in the Ministry of Defense. As we all know, The Writers Editorial Group has written in a letter of conscience addressed to Kazakh SSR people's deputies: "As is stated in the resolutions of the 1923 XII Congress of the Russian CP (Bolshevik), measures should be carried out to organize national military units to guarantee the complete defense capacity of the republic. (QAZAQ ADEBIYETI 9 Feb 90).

If we again pay attention to this suggestion, it seems as if ways for solving this particularly difficult problem become clear. They are:

1. A declaration that the republic is a sovereign member of a voluntary association of states must be swiftly adopted at the next session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.
2. As is set forth in the statements of other republics which have obtained their sovereignty, the need for establishing a republic army completely capable of providing for the defense needs of the republic must be particularly emphasized in the Kazakh SSR declaration of sovereignty.
3. Let it be stated in the declaration that we prohibit the making and testing of nuclear weapons, and the production of raw materials needed to make them, in the territory of the Kazakh Republic, and that Kazakhstan is a neutral country and not a member of any military bloc.

We hope that the republic president will completely carry out these suggestions which are made by writer-veterans of the Great Patriotic War.

Dikhan Abilev, Abu Sarsenbayev, Qalizhan Bekkhozhin, Khamit Yerghaliyev, Qasym Qaysenov, Syrbay Mawlenov, Takhawi Akhtanov, Qalmuqan Isabayev

(In all 33 writer veterans signed.)

#### 'Democratic Kazakhstan' Organized by People's Deputy Group

91US0109A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 90 p 4

[Report signed by Kazakh SSR people's deputies united in the "Democratic Kazakhstan" group, members of the organizing committee Ye. Yertysbayev, B. Belik, P. Svoik, B. Kadyrbekov, M. Ospanov: "Political Guarantees to Democracy! The Declaration of the 'Democratic Kazakhstan' Deputy Group"]

[Text] We, a group of people's deputies—released members of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet—realizing our responsibility to the voters and expressing serious concern with the economic and sociopolitical situation that has developed in the country and the republic, appeal to the Kazakh people and to all people's deputies with the following declaration.

For the first time in the republic's history, the Supreme Soviet has been formed on the basis of democratic elections; a President has been elected, and a Presidential Council formed. However, the declared separation of powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—has not in fact occurred. This is stipulated first and foremost by the practical activity of the CPSU, aimed not at the transfer of power to the soviets, but more likely at the preservation of monopolistic leadership of all spheres of life of society.

As before, the actual power belongs to the higher echelons of the party apparatus. Suffice it to note that the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet (the chief of legislative power), republic president (the chief of executive power), and the chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers are members of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Politburo. The chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Court (the chief of judicial power) is a member of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. Dozens of leaders of ministries and departments are also Central Committee members. Practically all the chairmen of oblast soviets of people's deputies are first secretaries of oblast party committees. As a rule, the leaders of the KGB, MVD, organs of the court and justice at the center and in the provinces are members of the elected party organs.

An even more tangled situation has emerged in the provinces. Covert or overt attempts by raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms to preserve power are being observed. The created presidiums of the soviets are not

capable of managing the regions, and an enormous army of unreleased deputies is a screen for covering the actual power of the party apparatus or of the ispolkoms.

The further maintenance of such a situation will inevitably lead to a power crisis, a complete decline in authority, and mistrust of the republic parliament and local soviets; it will create a favorable environment for curtailing democratic transformations, and the restoration of the authoritarian regime. A most dangerous tendency has been noted in the mass information media: The party press has begun to formulate the concept of the incapacity and hopelessness of soviets on all levels as organs of people power. This is why we consider it necessary to implement in as short a time possible the principle of separation of powers and the supremacy of the law not only in word, but in deed.

A market economy is above all an economy of law. Yet the economic basis must have the appropriate political superstructure. It is impossible to move toward a new socioeconomic tenor of life with the political system of the Stalin-Brezhnev period, lightly powdered over and modernized.

In view of this, we announce the creation of the "Democratic Kazakhstan" deputy group. Our next task is the withering away of the Kazakh CP via the depolitization (de-partyization) of the executive and judicial power; the principle of party affiliation may and must manifest itself at the stage of the expression of the people's will, in the legislative sphere. Only the principle of legality must function in the legislative and court authority. This is the first and necessary condition for the creation of a mechanism making possible the incarnation of decisions made.

The republic is perched on the eve of an historical event—the declaration of state sovereignty. But there is the danger that the idea of sovereignty can be used by the party apparatus as a means of preserving and strengthening its own power. Sovereignty is indivisible from genuine democratic transformations. We are categorically against the transfer of the center of the administrative system from Moscow to Alma-Ata. We are resolutely for Kazakhstan as a sovereign, democratic rule-of-law state founded on the principle of separation of powers. No party, structure, or individual person may usurp power in overt or covert form.

We are aware that the resolution of these tasks is possible only with genuinely popular representation in all the soviets. The membership of the current soviets reflects a compromise between the new democratic and old apparatus elections. Therefore, we consider one of our main tasks to be the creation in the long run of political and economic guarantees for new democratic elections.

Our group is open to all people's deputies sharing its goals, open to dialogue and cooperations with other deputy groups of all levels, with social movements, political movements, parties, and citizens.

On behalf of the 30 released deputies of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet united in the "Democratic Kazakhstan" deputy group, organizing committee members, Kazakh SSR people's deputies Ye. Yertysbayev, B. Belik, P. Svoik, B. Kadyrbekov, M. Ospanov.

#### **Makhkamov Speech on Tajik Republic Day**

91US0072A Dushanbe *KOMMUNIST*

*TADZHIKISTANA* in Russian 16 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Speech by K.M. Makhkamov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, and chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet, on 14 October; place not given: "New Point of Reference"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

Dear Friends!

Permit me first of all to cordially congratulate all of you participants in this ceremonial meeting, particularly our dear guests from the fraternal neighbor republics, and also all inhabitants of our ancient land on the historic celebration of the rebirth of the sovereignty of Tajikistan and to wish you all good health, happiness, and joy, and new labor successes.

The holiday of freedom and independence was a long-standing, exciting dream of the Tajik people. History testifies that in the first years of the formation of Tajikistan, Republic Day was commemorated extensively and triumphantly. But later, as a result of the deformations of the period of the cult of personality and stagnation, Tajikistan Day was together with other splendid historical traditions and ceremonies consigned to oblivion also.

It is thanks only to the policy of revolutionary restructuring and the renewal of all spheres of social and political life, including the solution of problems of interethnic relations, that fundamental changes have occurred. On 24 August of this year the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Tajik SSR. This truly historic document determined that henceforward 14 October would be commemorated annually as Republic Day, and this date has been declared a holiday.

Dear comrades, esteemed guests! I would like on this exciting day to leaf through together with you, if only fleetingly, pages of the history of the Tajik people.

An industrious, gifted, and wise people with great organizing capabilities, which in the 10th century created the powerful Samanid state, a people that gave the world thousands of outstanding figures like Rudaki and Firdousi, Sinoi, Saadi, Khafiz, and Khayyam, having as a result of constant invasions by foreign enemies lost its place and role in the historical process, was for many centuries downtrodden. Only the light of the Great

October suffused with new content the life of the peoples of Central Asia, including the Tajik people, and changed its entire course.

The Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], which somewhat later, in 1929, was converted into an independent, seventh, Union republic, was proclaimed on 14 October 1924. It was as of this date—14 October 1924—that the revival of the Tajik people and their political, spiritual, and cultural growth under the new historical conditions began. The gardens and flower beds of our illustrious ancestors, which had been brought to a state of neglect on account of the plunder of foreign oppressors and the fratricidal strife of local rulers—emirs, khans, and beys—began to bloom once again thanks to the sun of the new era and the energy and wisdom of their true owners.

The entire people and the representatives of all peoples inhabiting our republic, primarily the communists, displayed models of heroism and self-sacrifice in the struggle for transformations.

We recall with gratitude today the names of true sons of the people—Nusratullo Makhsum, Abdukodir Mukhid-dinov, Shirinsho Shotemur, Abdurakhim Khodzhibayev, Chinor Imomov, and others—who made a worthy contribution to Tajikistan's revival and development. This splendid pleiad is deservingly joined by Dzhura Zokirov, Khaydar Usmanov, Yakhye Afzali, Sadridin Ayni, Abulkasim Lakhuti, Bobodzhon Gafurov, Munovar Shogadayev, Dzhabbor Rasulov, and Abdulkhad Kakharov, and also the representatives of fraternal peoples—Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Ivanitskiy, Andrey Timofeyevich Fedin, Boris Vyacheslavovich Tolpygo, Tarichan Mikhaylovich Dyakov, and many others.

It is entirely appropriate if on the republic's festive day we express a tribute of respect and gratitude to all who are alive by their good name and good deeds and who gave their efforts, experience, knowledge, and talent to service of the people and the motherland.

We recall the lines of the great Saadi.

"Alive and immortal is he

"Who lived by his good name,

"Good memories of him are enlivened by his name!"

Dear comrades!

The path trodden by Tajikistan from the day of its formation through the present has not been even and smooth.

The building of a new life in our republic, as in the other, neighboring republics, was accompanied by substantial difficulties. I will not enumerate all the burdens and adversities which have been experienced, I wish merely to remind you that, were it not for the assistance and cooperation of various peoples of our motherland, as also the heroism and self-sacrifice of the Tajik people

themselves, we could not have overcome the difficulties, and Soviet Tajikistan would not in the years of its existence have fundamentally changed in appearance.

It is unjust, therefore, following a decade [as published] of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with other fraternal peoples, to call in question the results of this cooperation and downplay and even deny its significance, as some people are doing today. If Tajikistan has for many years together with the other Central Asian republics made a worthy contribution to the country's acquisition of cotton independence and if it has supplied the center and other European republics with both dried and fresh fruit and vegetables, various canned goods, silk and silk cloth, and some of the wealth of its mountainous interior for processing, they have, after all, rendered us immense, invaluable assistance. It is sufficient to recall that in some years the amounts of the subsidies constituted three-fourths of the budget and even 90 percent of the expenditure of Tajikistan, and that under these conditions the development of most important spheres of socioeconomic and social and political life, science and culture and art, in a word, all the material foundations and spiritual world of the Tajik people, cannot be imagined without the cooperation of the union republics.

Many people will evidently recall that at the time of its formation the Tajik ASSR was the sole republic without a city and that the small and poor village of Dushanbe, lacking in amenities and semi-ravaged, was the capital of Tajikistan. Now this old, unsightly Dushanbe is a modern new city with a population of more than half a million and the administrative-political, industrial, and scientific center of the republic.

Other cities and communities, in the majority of which modern cultural and everyday living conditions for the population have been created, have been developed also, and serious transformations in the life of Tajikistan are visible in the example of each of them.

I will not speak in detail about the scale of the construction of industrial enterprises, highways, and railroad and air communications, which have linked us with various parts of our region and with the cities of the whole country and foreign states, testifying to the profound changes in the life of the republic. I would merely like to call the attention of the republic's government and the corresponding ministries and departments and the local soviet executive committees to the fact that in developed countries the living standard is evaluated in terms of the level of the construction and improvement of roads.

We are for this reason required to display more concern for a rise in these levels, particularly the improvement of the Dushanbe suburbs, the mountain roads, and the remote villages of Tajikistan. This would be a concrete manifestation of concern for the good of the people, which is the highest goal of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Dear comrades!



It would be no exaggeration to say that there has been a pronounced change also over half a century in the appearance of the Tajik village, where major social, economic, and cultural transformations have occurred also. I would like in this connection to call your attention to certain facts and figures. It is well known that the first tractor began work in the fields of Tajikistan in 1924. But now more than 40,000 tractors, cotton-harvesting machines, and other equipment are working for the good of the people on our region's kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms].

There has been a rise in the living standard and a growth of the well-being of rural inhabitants. Many kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers, and representatives of the rural intelligentsia own modern household conveniences and personal automobiles. The development of irrigation, the network of which consists of 20,000 km of canals, 500 fixed pumping stations, and thousands of other hydraulic structures, has contributed to a large extent to the improvement of the villages and a rise in the villagers' living standard.

Nonetheless, there are serious problems in the countryside, for whose speediest solution leaders of the republic and the local soviets are required to provide for and implement the necessary measures. I refer primarily to providing rural inhabitants with amenities and the need to increase their education. Providing all the villages of Tajikistan with mains water, bath houses, medical establishments, schools, clubs, libraries and reading rooms, movie theaters, telephone and telegraph communications, radio and television relays, gas, and other modern means of civilized living—this is one of our most important duties.

I request of and appeal to the republic's rural inhabitants that they themselves display greater energy and purposefulness in raising the level of their culture, knowledge, and social life in order that villagers read more books, journals, and newspapers. The role and responsibility of local leaders and the rural intelligentsia, particularly teachers, is high here.

There is no doubt that the growth of culture in the republic is organically linked with the growth of the economy. And the main source, on which rural economic upturn will largely depend, is cotton and the products of its treatment in the republic. If, breaking with the pattern, we compare gross cotton production not with 1913 but with the 1940's, we see that it has grown in the past 50 years more than fivefold.

Yes, of course, in speaking of this most important sector of the republic's economy it would be wrong to gloss over the shortcomings and attendant problems. It has to be acknowledged that the selfless labor of the republic's cotton growers was for many years paid at an extremely low rate and that the chemical agents used in cotton growing are the cause of environmental pollution and the extremely unfortunate state of the countryside.

The republic Communist Party, Supreme Soviet, and government of Tajikistan have provided for and are implementing a set of measures pertaining to removal of the current shortcomings and the prevention and elimination of the impact of chemical agents on the environment. Thus whereas in the 1960's-1970's and at the start of the 1980's dozens of aircraft treated the cotton fields with chemical pest-protection agents and performed plant defoliation, only five aircraft have been engaged in this in the present year.

At the present time the majority of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is making extensive use of the biological method of protecting the cotton plant against pests developed by Academician Mukhamedkul Narzikulov.

Effective measures for an increase in productiveness are being applied also in vegetable growing, horticulture, viticulture, animal husbandry, and other sectors traditional for the Tajik people, and this, naturally, cannot fail to have a positive impact on a further upturn of agricultural production.

The Tajik Supreme Soviet and Government are developing increasingly new measures pertaining to an acceleration of the development of agricultural production and a rise in the living standard of the countryside. These measures include the introduction of new forms of management, specifically, the long-term leasing of fertile land and the provision of as large a number of rural workers as possible with personal plots.

But I would like to say once again that unless we make fruitful use of all available potential and if we drag out the introduction of the achievements of science and technology, it will be incredibly difficult to score successes in the economy and a rise in the living standard.

I would like to mention particularly here the fruitful activity of the institutes and departments of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences and also the contribution of the higher and other educational institutions of the republic. Almost 300,000 specialists with higher and secondary specialized education, graduates of our higher school and other educational institutions of Tajikistan, in the main, are working in our economy currently.

It is gratifying that our science is moving with ever increasing assurance beyond the republic and the country. Astrophysicists of Tajikistan are taking part in the study of space. The experience of our seismologists is being used by scientists of Armenia and Japan. The republic's economists are making a worthy contribution to the development of problems associated with the transition to the market economy and Tajikistan's participation in the all-Union market on the basis of a Union treaty.

The latest achievements of our biological science have given us great hope also. Thus a biological center, which will for the first time in the republic cultivate virus-free

potato seeds, is being created on the initiative of scientists of the Agriculture Institute in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon. In the future they will be sown to 15,000 hectares, and the annual harvest will constitute 300,000-400,000 tons. We will then not only provide the republic with high-grade potatoes but will be able to export this product also.

A worthy contribution is being made to study of the development of social and political thought, culture, and language by the philosophers, historians, men of letters, linguists, and social scientists.

But I would like to emphasize that particular significance is attached to their activity under the conditions of perestroika.

The time has come when it is necessary to take a fresh look at the history of our own people and study the great priceless heritage of our forefathers not from class standpoints but from the positions of values and priorities common to all mankind and make it the property of all mankind.

Everyone knows of the achievements of literature, theater, and motion pictures and professional musical, fine and all other types of Tajik art, which have in Soviet times enjoyed qualitatively new ideological and artistic development, and the best works of Sadridin Ayni, Abdulkasim Lakhuti, and Mirzo Tursun-zade enjoy world fame.

The treasure houses of the spiritual culture of the Tajik and other peoples have been enriched by the works of S. Ulug-zod, M. Mirshakar, D. Ikrami, R. Dzhilil, F. Niyazi, B. Rokhim-zade, F. Mukhammadiyev, M. Kanoat, L. Sherali, G. Safiyeva, Z. Shakhidi, Sh. Sayfadinov, M. Kasymov, M. Sabirova, A. Burkhanov, Sh. Mullodzhanova, T. Fazylova, L. Zakhidova, A. Bobokulov, K. Yarmatov, B. Kimyagarov, M. Olimov, M. Vakhidov, Kh. Gadoyev, A. Mukhamedzhanov, D. Murodov, B. Iskhakova, Z. Amin-zade, and many others.

On the eve of the republic holiday a further two writers, one producer, and one artist were awarded the republic Rudaki State Prize. They were Dzhusma Odinayev, Abdulkhamid Samadov, Farrukh Kasymov, and Sukhrob Kurbanov.

Permit me to cordially congratulate them on the high award and wish them and, through them, all figures of literature and art of our Tajikistan, new creative daring and accomplishments.

Profoundly esteemed comrades!

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government know that the Tajik artistic intelligentsia is making a marked contribution to the establishment of the ideas of perestroika and the triumph of democracy in the country. But even greater significance is attached to its practical activity under current conditions.

When in Tajikistan, as throughout the country, various social and political organizations are taking shape and each of them is propounding among the people its own views, opinions, and ideas, the firm civic stance of the figure of science, literature, art, and culture and their voice in defense of society's moral health are as essential as the air we breathe.

The Communist Party, Supreme Soviet, and government of Tajikistan express confidence that you will all render effective assistance in the defense of the fraternal alliance of Soviet peoples and will work actively in the name of the strengthening of the republic on the paths of the friendship, cooperation, and prosperity of all the peoples that live there.

We are the successors of great ancestors who established the ideas of humanism and the fraternity of the peoples and we do not have the right to forget their behests, including the wise saying of the master Mirzo Tursun-zade:

"People happiness in friendship find,

"Enmity people sorrow brings."

In conclusion permit me once again to remind you that the present year is truly historic for Tajikistan. Both stages of the 21st Tajik Communist Party Congress have been held successfully and fruitfully. We have adopted two very important documents—a Tajik Communist Party action program and its rules.

The 12th Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet second session discussed and adopted the Declaration on Sovereignty of the Tajik SSR, and the third session expressed the Supreme Soviet's attitude toward a program of stabilization of the economy and the transition to market relations. All these documents, adopted in accordance with the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress, are aimed at the continued upturn of our region.

So it is in this magnificent cause that we are all together, by means of television and radio, solemnly commemorating together with the whole people of Tajikistan, with the participation of our dear guests from the fraternal republics, Tajik Republic Day.

On this unforgettable day we cannot fail to recall with gratitude the thousands of veterans of the party, war, and labor, including Mirali Makhmadaliyev, Abdugaffor Samadov, Ilich Nurova, Aleksandr Yakovlevich Oplan-chuk, Vladimir Ivanovich Tsulay, and others, who have made a worthy contribution to the building of a new life and who are today continuing to work vigorously.

Nor can we fail to see that the future fate of the republic and its coming successes or failures, particularly under the conditions of transition to the market economy, are indeed connected with the energy and knowledge and public assertiveness of the young men and women. We place great hopes in the youth of the republic. They should know that the current revolutionary transformations, the success of perestroika, and the assurance of a

happy future for the republic are impossible without in-depth, all-around knowledge, without assimilation of the achievements of science and technology, and without the active labor of young people.

Permit me once more to congratulate you warmly and cordially on the republic's holiday. May this holiday come to each inhabitant of Tajikistan—Uzbek, Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian—and to the families of the representatives of all the peoples living in Tajikistan and may it bring peace and tranquillity, happiness and joy, and new successes in labor and in life.

May this holiday bring the peoples of the republic even closer together and make them nearer and more kindred to one another in order that we all, like children of one family, may aspire to the coming bright future of our dear fatherland, giving it all our shining emotional enthusiasms, all our energy, and all our filial love. Let us always remember the piece of folk wisdom that says:

"Not one specific flower in this garden

"Was picked without the help of friends."



**Entry-Exit Law Discussed****Legal Expert Interviewed**

91UN0176A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian No 43, 24 Oct 90 p 9

[Interview with Yu. A. Reshetov, doctor of legal sciences and director of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Administration for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, conducted by Aleksandr Sabov: "Four Keys: Information for Reflection by Parliament Deputies, Who Are Preparing To Discuss the Law on USSR Citizens' Exit and Entry"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Today we are reproducing a map from the "Atlas of Economic Power," which was published by the French Hachette publishing house this year. Alas, the capabilities of our printing press do not permit the reproduction of the map in full color on the newspaper page. Nonetheless, the point of it lies in its graphic illustration of migration flows in Europe using arrows in eight colors, each of which designates the number of immigrants into a country—up to 100,000 people, from 100,000 to 200,000, and so forth. Thus, for example, judging from the arrows on the map, the greatest number of immigrants has been experienced by the FRG—about 3 million (the chart was drawn up prior to the unification of Germany) Turks, Yugoslavs, Greeks, French and others; by France—from the countries of the Maghreb, Spain and Portugal; Great Britain—from its former colonies and Ireland; and so forth.

But why are there no arrows on the map showing flows of emigrants out of the USSR to the Western countries, although we have officially made those figures public for several years now? That is the question with which we began our conversation with Yu. A. Reshetov, doctor of legal sciences and director of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' Administration for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights.

**1.**

[Sabov] Can it be that our statistics are still unknown to the West, Yuriy Aleksandrovich? Or do people there still not trust them?

[Reshetov] I think that it is no longer so much a problem of trust as a problem of interpretation. Here are the figures, of which no secret is made: last year 235,000 citizens left the USSR; in the first nine months of this year, 305,000 have already left. But the whole question is how to classify them: Do you count even citizens as political refugees?

[Sabov] But that is just legal casuistry. No matter how you count them, if they have left, emigrated, they are refugees or emigrants.

[Reshetov] Yes, but what sort of refugees—political or economic? On the map you have presented, migration flows are 99-percent attributable to variations in the

level of different countries' economic development. That is, they are typical economic refugees, who are leaving the poor countries to go where they hope to find a better life. They also include some political refugees, of course, but they are very small streams. So small and merged to such an extent with the flows of economic refugees that world statistics do not even keep a separate accounting of them. And here I want to raise a question: on what grounds should the Soviet Union find itself an exception to world practice, and especially now, when political liberties in our country have grown exceptionally, and the economic situation has sharply deteriorated?

[Sabov] I listen to you with growing concern Yuriy Aleksandrovich: if the USSR looks like the "great mute" on the map, can it be that this is yet another case of "the intrigues of enemies"?

[Reshetov] You cannot avoid "intrigues," but the paradox is that we ourselves are feeding our unflattering reputation in the world. Look: this year 5,300 people have left for the United States on specifically American visas. According to the 1951 international Convention on the Status of Refugees, a political refugee is considered to be a person who is already outside of his homeland, outside the country of his citizenship, if—and this must be proved—he has been subjected to some sort of persecution there. Or he has grounds to believe that he would become the victim of such persecution. It goes without saying that this point also has to be proved. However, American practice for issuing entry visas completely ignores the first point and deliberately politicizes the second. And since the status of political refugee promises \$7,000 "traveling expenses" per person, people strive to obtain it by hook or crook. You will not believe it, but it is true: people who leave the USSR out of genuinely political motives value the "image" of their former homeland far more than those who go abroad out of mercenary considerations.

[Sabov] Can it be that the American quota provides for only 5,000 visas for emigrants from the USSR?

[Reshetov] No, the quota, with certain fluctuations, is geared toward approximately 50,000 persons. But they are mainly Soviet Jews who leave on "Israeli visas." In the first seven months of this year 132,000 people left the USSR on such visas, nearly half of whom went directly to the United States. So the American figures by themselves are misleading. Since there are many who want to obtain American citizenship, that makes it possible to sort people out carefully. Instead of humanitarian principles, political and economic selfishness triumph: Some people are shown a preference on the basis of race, while others are taken because they are needed by the American economy, and in all cases age plays a very important role.

[Sabov] Yet international law traditionally leaves questions of entry to the jurisdiction of the receiving state. There are all sorts of things we do not like in the actions of others! Let us turn instead to ourselves: are we not

ourselves to blame for the fact that it is still possible to treat us that way? Most likely, if we put our own house in order, it will not be possible to cast aspersions on it.

[Reshetov] Of course! On that account I can say that the Soviet Union is already participating—so far, to be sure, only as an observer—in the session of the Executive committee of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. In the foreseeable future we will also sign the Convention on Refugees. However, as a first step toward doing so we must approve the Law on USSR Citizens' Exit and Entry.

And so, only by signing the 1951 Convention on Refugees (40 years later) will we be able to distinguish the flow of economic refugees from the "political" stream of refugees. It is important to do that, otherwise our political thermometer will continue to show a false temperature.

The keys to that solution lie in Moscow, although you must travel with us to New York, to UN headquarters.

2.

[Sabov] What is holding up adoption of the Law on USSR Citizens' Entry and Exit, Yuriy Aleksandrovich? It was strangely dropped the agenda of the past session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which, it was generally felt, complicated our president's spring visit to the United States. Hearings on the draft law are expected during the current session. But if the USSR Supreme Soviet delays this time, will it not risk confronting the fact that it has been overtaken by the republic parliaments?

[Reshetov] I am more afraid of something else: that an alternate version that is more to the liking of those who are experiencing fear will emerge and pass through the union parliament.

[Sabov] Fear that we will become an open society? That our entire population will flee the country? That there will be a big brain drain? What sort of fear?

[Reshetov] The draft law stipulates that every USSR citizen will receive a foreign passport good for five years and can go abroad for any reason and for any period, reaching agreement only with the receiving country on all questions of his entry and stay in that country. The USSR, for its part, is required to guarantee its citizens the right to return to their homeland.

Not a single country in the world has yet been depopulated by emigration. To those who are afraid that such a misfortune will befall us, I ask a simple question: why have not all Englishmen long since left for the United States, where the living standard is nearly twice as high and there is no language barrier for them? The history of all developed countries indicates that emigration, while always remaining relatively small, has only contributed to those countries' prosperity.

In addition, when one country removes its restrictions on the exit of citizens, the other—the receiving country—promptly toughens the conditions for their entry.

We presently require our own citizens to show invitations to go abroad. All we need to do is switch to the free issuing of passports, and the other side will put up the same filters. Attempts to make political capital will cease: the West will have no reasons to pass of any our economic refugees as practically political emigrants.

[Sabov] Yet it will be all the easier to be selective, pumping out our best specialists into foreign countries!

[Reshetov] The United Nations has already conducted numerous studies of this matter. In many countries of the world, its experts have reached the unequivocal conclusion that if a "brain drain" has begun, it has usually involved the "brains" that have been poorly utilized in their own country. By dint of the fact either that there has actually been a surplus of them, or—which is much more common—that they have failed to be duly appreciated in their homeland. In any event, the country that tries to attract another's minds deserves much less criticism than the one that does not know how to utilize them in a worthy fashion. Incidentally, nothing teaches a country to value its specialists and scientists like the threat of losing them.

You know that the hope that the U.S. Congress will repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which forbids granting us most favored nation status in trade, is directly linked to adoption of the new law. And so some deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet have the impression that this is practically a question of a concession to the United States for the sake of commercial and economic benefits. Well, what can one say to that? After all, even without any counting on foreign economic assistance, we are obliged to humanize our own civil legislation and put it into a civilized condition! It is not the Americans who need such a "concession," but we ourselves!

[Sabov] What other arguments are advanced against adoption of the new law?

[Reshetov] That we do not have enough passports for everyone, and that we lack the capacity to print them for everyone. That transport will be unable to carry all those traveling abroad and returning from there. That there will not be enough hard currency for those who are leaving by invitation on temporary trips, while there are from eight to ten times as many of those people as those who are leaving for good, and the state is obliged to help them. Last year about 100 million rubles was exchanged into freely convertible currency for such people—a figure which plainly is not killing for our budget. But if exit visas are at least issued on the basis of private invitations from relatives or friends, a private invitation to attend a public event, for example, still falls under a prohibition in our country. Last year the human-rights activist Lev Timofeyev was invited to Paris to anniversary ceremonies marking the Great French Revolution. The Office of Visa and Registration denied him an exit

visa. Why? The inviting party—it was Francois Mitterand—was not his uncle or old friend, but merely the country's president! That what it means to be a closed society.

**"A foreign passport is sufficient grounds for travel to all countries of the world,"** states Article 2, Part 2, of the draft Law on USSR Citizens' Exit and Entry.

**The keys to an open society in the USSR lie, of course, in Moscow.**

### 3.

[Sabov] Nonetheless, the bulk of emigrants from the Soviet Union continues to be made up of citizens of Jewish nationality. Does that mean that the reason for their exit is anti-Semitism in the USSR?

[Reshetov] The last cases in which people were prosecuted in the USSR for establishing Hebrew study circles, for teaching Judaism, and so forth occurred two to three years ago. Since then no barriers and no hurdles have been erected to the establishment of Jewish cultural organizations. Political anti-Semitism, to which the state was to some extent party, is dead today in the USSR. Once and for all. That does not mean that anti-Semitism has been overcome on the everyday level, as well. Just this August a Moscow synagogue was smeared with anti-Semitic slogans. Those who are guilty of such excesses must be found and punished severely. But one must admit that our law-enforcement agencies have not yet launched a proper struggle against commonplace anti-Semitism. At least I know of only one trial of that sort—in the aftermath of the uproar staged by Memory members at the Central House of Writers. I cannot help expressing surprise that even now our human-rights activists more readily appeal to world public opinion than to the courts.

[Sabov] Could that be out of a lack of the habit?

[Reshetov] I do not think so. It is easier that way to make an impression on the public and serve events up to it in a one-sided light. But even today, in a situation of political instability and frightening economic situation in our country, which has evoked an outburst of nationalism, commonplace anti-Semitism looks much more obscene and repulsive in a number of Western countries than it does in ours. In France Jewish graves were recently dug up. In the United States no one pays any attention to the slogan "Death to Jews!", which is scandalous in our country. Nonetheless, our emigrants leaving on "Israeli visas" strive to settle precisely in those countries. Have you not wondered why?

[Sabov] Why?

[Reshetov] One more item of proof of that with which our conversation began—these are economic refugees under the guise of political refugees. All these insinuations will end when our legislation on the protection of human rights is put on a par with world laws.

At the moment this interview was being held, it was learned that the USSR and Israel had agreed to exchange consular missions; this is a recognition of the fact that the keys to settling the emigration problem do not lie only in Moscow.

### 4.

[Sabov] And a final question, Yuriy Aleksandrovich: about internal refugees in the country. I do not know whether I am asking the right person; after all, you represent the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Reshetov] Alas, that is also our question.

[Sabov] Why?

[Reshetov] Our administration is concerned, in general, more with internal than with external questions. Perestroika has led to an understanding of the fact that only the concrete solution of humanitarian problems in the country will enable us to speak with a clear conscience about human rights in any part of the world. So what is your question?

[Sabov] There are already 600,000 refugees in the country. They are victims of pogroms in Sumgait, Baku, Osh, and so forth. Considering that 60 million of our fellow countrymen live outside of their native republics, the number of forced migrants within the boundaries of the union may increase. Do you consider it necessary to officially assign the status of refugee to them, as well?

[Reshetov] If we become a federation of states, that means that the forced crossing by any masses of the population even of that federation's internal borders will evidently entail the recognition of their status as refugees. I think that, with certain reservations, international law should be applied here.

Of course, we will not build any sort of open society if barriers and closed zones remain in it. Our union treaty should become a certificate of safe passage for the liberties and sovereign rights of every citizen, the protection of which the rule-of-law state is obliged to guarantee. The keys to the solution of this problem lie in Moscow and the capitals of the union republics.

### Legal Issues Raised

91UN0176B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian No 43, 24 Oct 90 p 9

[Unattributed article: "To an Open World"]

[Text] And so, the draft Law on USSR Citizens' Exit and Entry is on the agenda of the current session of the country's Supreme Soviet. At the beginning of October an in-depth discussion of the draft was held in the Subcommittee on Humanitarian, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on International Affairs. Together with representatives of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR KGB, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the



Chief Customs Administration, the Foreign Trade Bank and other departments who were invited to the subcommittee's last working meeting on the eve of the parliamentary hearing, the deputies once again carefully checked on the legal substantiation of all the draft law's provisions and discussed the consequences to which its approval might lead.

Yes, consequences will be inevitable, complex and, let us put it bluntly, burdensome for the country. But what was noteworthy in this "general rehearsal" before the premiere was the fact that it demonstrated once again the general desire to support the law on the high democratic level at which its authors originally aimed. And the country's president, insisting on the thorough investigation of the law's likely consequences and the adoption of measures that would reduce them to a minimum, favors putting the new law on a par with world law, said the subcommittee's chairman F. Burlatskiy in opening the meeting.

Yet it is not all that simple to compare our country's experience to world legislation. One detail speaks eloquently. A person entering any country for a period up to six months for reasons other than business is considered a tourist throughout the world. Thus the definition of "tourism" covers private visits, trips for medical treatment and studies, and so forth. This definition of tourism stems from the 1954 New York Convention, which the Soviet Union, among others, signed. And if we are really using the world level of law as a standard, we, too, ought to resort in the draft law to the division into "businessmen" and "tourists." However, that would only lead millions of people astray. After all, we invest the concept of "tourist" with something else, with a more limited content. That is why in the present version of the law it is better to resort to terminology more comprehensible to our fellow citizens. And once we have gotten used to traveling around the world, why not improve good laws as a consequence?

How can the new law be squared with young people's military obligation and with the problems of preserving state secrets? What sort of transportation problems will arise as soon as it is adopted, and how many divisions of the Department of Visas and Registration, especially provincial divisions, will need to be opened in the country? There are other questions, as well. Along the path toward an open civil society we will have to solve dozens of complex problems that have accumulated in our country over decades. The likely "brain drain" in this connection naturally arouses the greatest concern.

At the meeting in the subcommittee, a USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs forecast was made public: in the next ten years up to seven million citizens may leave the country, including at least one million specialists and 1.5 million skilled workers. However, other countries' experience indicates that what should be expected is not so much movement in one direction as movement by people back and forth. That may prove a boon for our country, too,

since people with improved vocational skills and experience will return. The comparison of all viewpoints led participants in the discussion to the conclusion that the aforementioned "forecast" is not supported by serious analysis, and no one can vouch for the validity of the figures cited. Especially since the Western developed countries with their levels of unemployment are increasingly taking a course of limiting immigration.

But then which forecast is realistic? Evidently, only life can answer that. That makes all the more important and complex the task of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies to whose collective wisdom is being entrusted a historic decision that is called on to open our society to the world.

### General Prosecutor on Reasons for Resignation

91UN0183A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 27 Oct 90 p 1, 4

[Interview with A.Ya. Sukharev, retired general prosecutor, by Yuriy Makartsev, *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* political observer: "The General Prosecutor Retires"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] *The news last week became a sensation, generating much discussion, judgments and conjecture. "Why is he leaving his job?" "Did he write his resignation himself or was he 'asked' to leave?" "Was it 'due to retirement' or for some other reason?"*

**Our paper has asked Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev to answer these questions himself. His interlocutor is *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*'s political observer Yuriy Makartsev.**

### EVEN GODS BECOME TIRED...

[Makartsev] Aleksandr Yakovlevich! I think public interest in your departure from the post of USSR General Prosecutor stems not only from the fact that the position you have held is "unique in the government," "engraved," so to speak, one of the highest nomenklatura jobs designated by the Congress. I assume people are no less interested in whether there is here again another "secret of the Madrid court," which we have seen more than once in our history...

I remember well: June 8, 1989, the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. You, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, were a candidate for the country's "prosecutor's crown," standing on the high dais, and at the microphone in the hall were A. Sakharov, Yu. Afanasyev; there seemed to be no end to the line of those wishing to throw some tricky question at you. Then the vote, the tally on the board: 330 against, 273 abstentions. Well, Gorbachev and Yeltsin were both subjected to a similar debate during their confirmation; they also got quite a few "black balls." That day, you left the hall as the USSR General Prosecutor. Did it perhaps seem to you that the victory had a bitter aftertaste?

[Sukharev] Let us be completely frank. The position of General Prosecutor, his power, are a particular phenomenon of our government, and of course, any applicant for the position, whoever he may be, given today's public appointment procedure can hardly assume an unconditional triumph. As you know, in the country's Supreme Soviet I received the overwhelming majority of the votes, even though rather sharp debates surrounded my candidacy at the Congress. What does this mean, how did I perceive myself?

By the time the Congress opened, a polarization of political forces had become evident in society. This process affected the parliament and the deputies. Some of the deputies sincerely backed Gdlyan and Ivanov, seeing in the investigators true knights, courageous fighters of the mafia. From this came the attitude: will the new prosecutor's management not bury the case opened by the investigators in Uzbekistan, a case whose roots, according to Gdlyan and Ivanov, led to the mafia's nest at the highest levels of power? I think these circumstances were primarily responsible for the passions in the Kremlin at that time.

But that is not all. Some deputies, I think, having learned from my file that I was formerly connected with the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, and was a division head there, doubted whether a person from the Party nomenklatura could implement the principles of democracy, legality and freedom in the conditions of perestroika.

I became general prosecutor in June 1988. I will not hide the fact that when the choice fell on me I had many misgivings.

I weighed my capabilities: 18 years of important practical work in justice, candidate of juridical sciences; I was always attracted to scientific thought and did not intend to change my field of work.

But I have always considered myself a firm supporter of perestroika, which, as you know, was begun by people from within the command-administrative system. My professional and political creed has always been open, visible and audible to jurists, journalists, teachers, and representatives of trade unions and youth groups. I am convinced that many of them still today could honestly attest to my consistent support for democratization and renewal of the legal system.

I risk appearing immodest, but facts are a stubborn thing: I was among the few who backed the idea, drew up the documents and formulated the system of public legal education, which unfortunately today has been practically destroyed. For many years the subject of my attention has been not the police functions, but the humanitarian functions of the legal system. This gave me the moral right, despite doubts and hesitations, to "take by the horns the bull" of the prosecutor's office, which, like many other law enforcement agencies, was burdened by many ills of the period of stagnation. The temptation

to renew the prosecutor's office, to make it a tool of social justice and defender of human rights, won out.

[Makartsev] It is thus all the more surprising, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, that just over a year after the Congress you submitted your resignation to the President, I assume at your own initiative. The matter had already been decided. Since everything secret eventually comes out, confess: did you yourself want to retire?

[Sukharev] Yes.

[Makartsev] Were your "tired," as one paper wrote the other week? If so, we understand you and will not judge you, since everything in the world has its limit except eternity. The Greek gods grew tired, and the Almighty created Sunday for us to rest. Perhaps the only exception were our great leaders of the past who continued their government service until they were decrepit with old age.

[Sukharev] So things are less humane now... Yes, retirement, yes, of my own will; let the job be taken by someone else, maybe younger—what is surprising about that? It is time for us as well to finally become a civilized society! But I feel that some will try to discover in my action some political motivation. Is there one? Yes and no.

I belong to the generation that went through the war: I went to the front in 1942, and continued fighting after being wounded on the Vistula. I have five battle decorations. Although I am 67, I have never been seriously ill my whole life, and only very rarely missed work; I have my parents to thank for such genes. I have worked until I was "worn out," 14 hours a day; 16 are not enough now...

I believe in its entire history the prosecutor's office has never been in such difficult conditions as today. An unforeseeable workload has appeared, although no one has thought about adding staff. Legal nihilism, a drop in respect for the law, the attitude that anything goes, anarchy—these are the source of the unbelievable overload among all the prosecutor's office staff up to the top level. We have conducted dozens—no, hundreds—of criminal cases in Sumgait, Kirovabad, Baku, Armenia, the Fergana Valley, Noviy Uzen, Oshskaya oblast. Who could have thought yesterday that democracy, glasnost and freedom would turn society in a direction opposite that of a law-based state? Interethnic conflicts, the shadow economy, crime, intoxication with pluralism... There have appeared in the country 60,000 public organizations and associations, and all at the same time, and each individual person expects legal and physical protection. And the flood of complaints? Although it seems that the republics—sovereign ones, Soviets—have been renewed, they have leaders in place who are far from being yesterday's bureaucrats...

Against this background, the attack on the prosecutor's office is intensifying. As if someone with an invisible hand is directing and magnifying the wave of negative information.

But it is one thing when criticism is conducted at the everyday level, so to speak, from an ignorance of the true causes of a legal situation, and another when it stems from the representatives of power themselves, from lawmakers who put the cart before the horse. It is not immediately apparent that the prosecutor's office is increasingly bound hand and foot by the continuing disorder in the legislative process itself, when the legal foundation of society itself has been shaken by the competition within the hierarchy of power.

Finally, it must be understood that the root of the problem lies not in inertia and lack of management in the prosecutor's office, although such instances have occurred, but in destructive political and legal processes which are not receiving adequate attention from the higher authorities and their special structures: the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Legislation and the Committee for Constitutional Oversight. So this circumstance also figured in my final choice. I do not believe I can any longer squeeze the impossible out of myself.

[Makartsev] Could you still perhaps be leaving something out, Aleksandr Yakovlevich? For example, I would assert that you are a victim of political compromise. This spring the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree regarding the famous investigative group. There was thus obtained agreement on "dismissing USSR people's deputies T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov from agencies of the USSR Prosecutor's Office." At the same time, the document contained the following point: the Supreme Soviet considers it necessary to strengthen the management of the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

We journalists accredited to that session discussed among ourselves whether Sukharev's retirement in the near future was assumed?

[Sukharev] Everyone gets what is coming to him... I confess I was also surprised by the position of certain deputies, such as Roy Medvedev. How could it be: a few months ago a new head of the Prosecutor's Office was appointed without any review of its activities, and suddenly: "strengthen"... General emotional judgments convinced hardly anyone, not just in the prosecutor's office. But, like the journalists, they led us towards different ideas...

[Makartsev] By the way, what is the status of the criminal case against the investigative workers from T. Gdlyan's group? They assert that they have been carried "to a faraway steppe" in the legal battle. For some reason there has been no word of this in the press...

[Sukharev] The Prosecutor's Office is firmly observing the provisions of the law and the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Despite Gdlyan and Ivanov's obstruction of the investigation, it is nearing completion. The criminal case already has nearly 100 volumes; indictments have been handed down against several members of the inner circle of the former management of the investigative group. I

assume the parliament and the public will soon receive additional and detailed information on this matter. But of course, I would not want to predetermine the prosecutor's office's actual steps; those are up to the new General Prosecutor.

[Makartsev] Did not democracy in a certain sense affect your decision to retire, Aleksandr Yakovlevich? The party bureaucracy has mastered the art of the "telephone law." Do we not have today another extreme? I myself have heard from several USSR people's deputies: "I have brought a stack of voters' complaints from home, I am going straight to a meeting with the General Prosecutor"...

[Sukharev] The flood of complaints has simply overwhelmed us: four million citizens' petitions a year. The central office in Moscow receives 230,000 complaints. Of these, 9,000 are inquiries from people's deputies fulfilling the requests and instructions of their voters. We have to fight lawlessness, to concern ourselves with people. But... others chosen by the people write exclusively to the General Prosecutor and want to deal only with him. I stress that the paradox of the moment is that today, when the priority of republic and local agencies has been declared, and many questions could presumably be resolved in oblasts, rayons and cities, the number of petitions to the center has increased.

I would single out two aspects of the prosecutor's relations with the people's deputies. Above all, cooperation, open dialogue, mutual assistance. Unfortunately, the opposite also occurs. I will cite an example. Not long ago the chairman of one of the USSR Supreme Soviet's committees criticized N. Ryzhkov's government at one of the sessions, and it seemed to me that he "stung" the prosecutor's office at the same time. After voicing an unflattering evaluation of our work, one not backed up by anything, as if to "confirm" it he established a special review without waiting for an upcoming report of the prosecutor's office in another committee.

Well, as they say, it is not the first or the last draft, help yourself. But I will not hide the fact that the manner in which the question was formulated concerned me: regarding the reaction to citizens' signals and petitions concerning crimes committed. We got to thinking about what this could mean. Of course, the prosecutor's office is involved in the fight against crime. We are the oversight agency for implementation of many laws, including those against crime. We see serious shortcomings here. In the last year and a half, investigations by the prosecutor's office have recorded 90,000 crimes uncovered by personnel of internal affairs agencies; 28 officials have also been charged with crimes. It would seem more logical to begin the investigation where the first reaction to the public's signals on crimes must occur...

An authoritative deputy's commission visited us. It worked for a week or two, and was interested in practically all aspects of our office's work, including general oversight. We in the prosecutor's office then listened to



its valid conclusions, accepted its comments and preferences, but nothing suggested serious problems, much less failures in the prosecutor's work. There was then a meeting of two committees of the Supreme Soviet. I did not attend. The members judged the presentations of the overwhelming majority of the deputies to be objective and motivated by concern for the issue. But once again the dissonant note was the position of the same "critic"—the chairman of the committee on legislation, who suggested that the work of the prosecutor's office be judged unsatisfactory. Along with everyone here. Yet the "critic" not only did not deign to acquaint himself with our work, but did not even visit the prosecutor's office and meet its personnel. Evidence and arguments were useless, since the conclusions had been programmed long in advance. I received phone calls, including from people's deputies who had participated in the meeting: "Aleksandr Yakovlevich, the judgment did not at all flow from the nature of the discussion..." All you have to do is read the minutes to be convinced we are right.

[Makartsev] Are you not exaggerating? Are not your lips, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, expressing the wounded pride of the General Prosecutor?

[Sukharev] Why? After all, everything I have said took place before hundreds of people. And has the prosecutor ever lived in conditions of comfort—even during the era of stagnation?! We have been a sort of permanent target of criticism. It is true that there are grounds for criticizing us sometimes. But as a person with a keen sense of justice, I cannot fail to note that it is as though someone's social instruction is being carried out: to humiliate and denigrate the activity of people working to the bone. Why? Is this really of benefit to people, to an unstable and agitated society in which complicated and dangerous processes are occurring, about which I wrote to the President some time ago?

[Makartsev] Is there some connection between your letter to Gorbachev and the letter of resignation submitted to him shortly afterwards?

[Sukharev] There is not a direct link. I am not a coward; as you know, there were enough criticisms and attacks directed at me. In writing to Mikhail Sergeyevich, I was thinking not of myself, but of the fate of the legal system, of the prosecutor's office's personnel who are carrying an unbelievably heavy burden, often an ungrateful one. For such a vast country we have only 37,000 front-line workers. Almost one-third of the rayon prosecutor's offices have two or three persons. We are not keeping up, we are not coping... The prosecutorial agencies are becoming a sort of hostage to the developing social situation. What should be done, what urgent measures should be undertaken—that is what I reported on to the President before retiring.

[Makartsev] Finally, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, is not one of the reasons for your retirement the fact that the President's Decrees are not always carried out, and you as the General Prosecutor are unable to prevent this?

You are powerless because in many places there is a crisis of power... Or what do you think about its present condition and authority?

[Sukharev] I do not think anything in particular can be added to my reasons for leaving. I could hardly say anything new and original about the crisis and authority of power. Reality is stronger than any words. As to the power of the General Prosecutor, in view of its constitutional and procedural independence it is still a derivative of the overall political and legal climate. And this today is unstable and continues to deteriorate. The prosecutor's power is based on the need for accurate and unswerving observance of the law. But not just any law: that based on the Constitution. And if laws and decrees are adopted contradicting the Constitution?! How can one accept such "Kazan" and "Kaluga" legality?!

#### HE ACCEPTED THE JOB—HE GAVE UP THE JOB

[Makartsev] Aleksandr Yakovlevich! After Rudenko and Rekunkov, you were apparently the third USSR General Prosecutor in the postwar period...

[Sukharev] That is right. Except that for a very short period right after the war the national prosecutor's office was headed at first by Gershenev, then Safonov.

[Makartsev] I will not ask the condition of affairs when you took over from Rekunkov, that is not hard to imagine. I am interested in something else. Is it possible today to call the well-known "house on Pushkin Street" where the central prosecutor's office is situated a model state institution?

[Sukharev] I would not risk any categorical judgments. They are more applicable to individual workers. There are quite a few "model" workers here among the 400 prosecutor's employees of the central USSR Prosecutor's Office. As to the "house on Pushkin" itself, it, like the entire prosecutor's system, is undergoing a complex stage of renewal, of adaptation to perestroika's processes. Yes, honestly speaking, it cannot be said today that we are a "model institution."

The prosecutor has never been society's pet. "All the dogs" were hung on it, including crime, although in the foreseeable future the conditions of the social system can hardly be eradicated. Everything is demanded of it, but it is paid and financed very modestly. Wages were raised recently, but the conditions, the nature of the work, remain essentially the same.

Yet nonetheless, the prosecutor's office of 1990 is already unable to cope with the situation as it was 5-10 years ago. The very concept of prosecutor's oversight is changing. That is the main thing; it now encompasses not only the criminal milieu, but also many social areas of life. You know the ecological situation in the country: in 103 cities the level of maximum allowable concentrations of pollutants exceeds the allowable norms many times over. There are 600 cities in the area of severe ecological disaster, where waste water is not purified,

and 68 cities with a total population of 40 million where harmful emissions into the atmosphere are dangerous to health. Last year, almost one billion rubles' worth of forest burned due to forest fires. That is why I was glad to sign the other day a decree creating the country's 83rd prosecutor's office for protection of nature.

An independent administration for supervising the implementation of laws in the economic sphere has appeared. We used to persecute people for economic entrepreneurship. Now times are different. We have brought criminal charges against a number of officials for undermining cooperatives; in particular, for extortion and bribe-taking. They have faced trial, or been given administrative fines and punishments. We were surprised: over 40 million people in the country are subject to fines, and many of them to arrest. We started to look into it: there is plenty of arbitrariness. We created a supervisory subdivision in the social sphere, for inter-ethnic relations, in the sphere of legislation regulating freedom of conscience.

As you see, the prosecutor's office has turned to human rights and social justice. Believe me, this is not because it is fashionable, it is not a phony indication of humanization of the prosecutor's office... The people's social protection indeed leaves much to be desired. Some 760,000 prisoners are serving sentences in our colonies. They are the most serious contingent, people who as a rule have committed more than one criminal act in their life. The "petty" criminals have been freed as a result of humanization of criminal policy. But honestly speaking, they are not supervised or assisted in finding work. Yet these people are walking the streets next to us, perhaps looking around them with hungry and evil eyes.

Without sinking into departmental patriotism, I can assert that our personnel have withstood serious tests, since they were generally formed on a healthy basis, even despite all the deformations of the years of stagnation. Of course, many workers in the new environment had to undergo an "inventory" of their positions, and of their conscience as well. The test has been passed. We accepted what remained. In the last two years, seven prosecutors of union republics, 40 prosecutors of oblasts and autonomous republics and some 500-600 prosecutors of rayons and cities have been replaced.

[Makartsev] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, is an employee of the USSR Prosecutor's Office threatened with dismissal if he leaves the CPSU?

[Sukharev] No. Three percent of all employees of the USSR Prosecutor's Office are nonparty members. Some of them occupy management positions. The main criterion in selecting staff is their attitude towards the law, their professional qualities, honesty and integrity. I would prefer any other person with such qualities to a lazy and incompetent communist.

[Makartsev] Under Stalin, one could pay with one's life simply for telling a joke out loud. Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev economic managers found hundreds of

tricks to circumvent the law. This was justified by the argument that the law was imperfect. What do we have in 1990? Today, when it is as though everything is permitted, legal nihilism has grown to an unbelievable scale. The new, "good" laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet are not being observed; the "land of a law-based state" of which we have dreamt cannot be seen. And again, as in the good old days, we are indignant: "Where is the prosecutor?!" Where indeed, Aleksandr Yakovlevich?

[Sukharev] The paradox of the present situation is that legislation at the national and republic levels is no longer consistent, the law no longer forms a uniform legal fabric of society. Note that in the Supreme Soviet there are fights over every line, every letter of a law. Unfortunately, sometimes the lawmakers themselves create legal nihilism. We observe this in meetings, conventions, congresses, even in parliaments—everywhere. It must be admitted that pressure on the prosecutor's office by the party bureaucracy in the past has now been replaced by pressure—no less powerful—from the deputies. We have not yet evaluated "lawmaking" at the oblast and rayon level, where there is evidently also a good deal of anticonstitutional independence.

The situation is extremely disquieting. In some republics basic laws guaranteeing the country's safety and national defense are not functioning. For example, our service is searching for those who refuse to answer their army draft notices, yet in several republics officials call "deserters" national patriots. Moreover, laws have been adopted which protect them. In the past, we often complained of a lack of cooperation among law enforcement agencies. Today, the chain itself is collapsing which has connected all the links: the internal affairs agencies, prosecutor and court. The prosecutor's instructions are not always carried out; for example, by the same police who have sworn to be loyal to local authorities.

And what about the country's constitution and laws? And in the final analysis, the fate of people?

I receive and listen to people from various regions, including the Baltic republics. It turns out that sometimes there is no one to protect their legal interests. A tragedy! A criminal who commits a crime can run to "another" republic, and there it is not always possible to find people willing to catch him, because there they have their "own order." We should create an Interpol within the country! Unfortunately, the prosecutor's system itself, whose strength has been in precisely the fact that it is independent of local authorities, is being affected by ethnic tensions.

It is good that new laws are being adopted, but we could all end up together in a "graveyard of dead laws." The resolution of these questions is clearly overdue. A program of coordination among the law enforcement agencies themselves must be worked out immediately. Without it, the journey to a law-based state can stretch out for years.

[Makartsev] In answering at one point a question about the mafia, you noted, Aleksandr Yakovlevich, that we should not believe in its strength or its ability to put its own people in power. Well, how could you evaluate the capital of the "shadow economy"? Organized crime? The stronger our resistance to it, the higher the statistics of its victims. How should this be understood?

[Sukharev] The shadow economy is a powerful monster which has firmly entrenched itself in the social body. I estimate its turnover at around 100 billion rubles. We must be honest, we are only on the threshold of fighting organized crime on a professional basis. The affair with the ANT has shown that we lack specialists in understanding the details of economic crimes. Yet the transition to market relations lies ahead. It is true that we have already drawn certain conclusions and hired economic specialists. But this is clearly inadequate...

[Makartsev] Recently, while attending a session of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, I heard V. Bakatin say that the attitude of the republic ministers of internal affairs towards the center is changing. As we know, you have also been involved with cases of the creation in republics of "parallel structures." How do you see the USSR Prosecutor's Office after adoption of the Union treaty?

[Sukharev] It will either be a single democratic system, a very flexible one with substantial rights for the prosecutors of sovereign republics specified by law, or it will be a federal system of prosecutors on the American model. Today, I am certain that we need a "transition period prosecutor's office," without excessive centralization but definitely with a national structure, working democratically but on the principle of laws mandatory for all.

#### THE PROSECUTOR IN AN APRON

[Makartsev] Aleksandr Yakovlevich! What do you plan to do in retirement: babysit your grandsons, grow potatoes, write your memoirs, "pick apart the pieces" of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, maybe Yeltsin and Gorbachev, there is a great demand for that today?

[Sukharev] I must confess I am not really interested in memoirs. Yet I have always been attracted to scientific work. Maybe I will take that up. I would like to think through the experience I have gained through long legal work, including in the prosecutor's office.

[Makartsev] You are a man of power. Is it not hard for you to leave the job that has given you the levers of great power? After all, death sentences are carried out in our country.

[Sukharev] Yes, that does occur... I would call myself a man of the authority of power, that is closer to the truth. As you know, the foundation of the authority of power rests on respect, trust, pluralism of opinions, and only afterwards on the force of power itself. It is pleasant to note that I have succeeded in introducing at least a few modest reforms in the prosecutor's agencies. I leave this

achievement not without sadness. I have not accomplished much of what I dreamed about. Maybe others will succeed. What is the main thing to prevent or avoid? I see that extremists, nationalists and separatists are trying to destroy the prosecutor's office as a single connecting link of the Union.

I think that common sense will triumph in the end if we truly support a union of sovereign states.

[Makartsev] And who holds power in your family?

[Sukharev] I do. True, I am a nominal leader since I have "lived" my life on the job. But my "deputy," my wife, is also a strong-willed person. We will see what our roles will be in a new situation...

[Makartsev] Is she a relative of Ye. Ligachev?

[Sukharev] There were rumors going around, that she is his relative, his daughter, his sister. Evil tongues probably did it so we would be more sensitive to good and justice, and not let it pass us by.

[Makartsev] Aleksandr Yakovlevich! You are a person who stands in several historical eras. Your life's path has gone from Stalin to Gorbachev. You have been a soldier at the front, a Central Committee official, RSFSR minister of justice, General Prosecutor of the nation. In a social sense you are a "transitional figure." That is the situation of many people of the older generation occupying responsible government jobs which they must soon give up. Was it hard for you to adapt to the "new time"? What do you accept in it, and what not?

[Sukharev] I will not hide the fact that there is a temptation to appear to be a progressive, advanced person without doubts and hesitations. I will say honestly that in the new time I have by far not accepted everything the same. You must agree that not everything new is necessarily advanced, just the opposite occurs. Some dizzying projects promising success have already disappointed people. As an innovative person by nature, I accepted perestroika as the only possible alternative. When Andropov came to power, I was one of the first in his office for a conversation, on December 3, 1982. We talked about transformations of the law enforcement system, about discipline. Some political scientists today judge Yuriy Vladimirovich's attempt to instill order as the same old administrative-command methods. That is partially correct. But it is also true that Andropov was looking ahead. With the eyes of a realist. Like every concerned and thinking person, I often think about whether we are doing everything correctly. Are our forecasts serious? Judging from the present state of society, we cannot say this is so. But everything genuinely new is always very difficult. The road backwards is closed, I think that is clear to most of our citizens. This means we need a consensus, a consolidation of all forces, not a destructive confrontation.

[Makartsev] Who do you see as your successor in the job of USSR General Prosecutor?



[Sukharev] If you will recall, the prosecutor's office has never in its entire history allowed "outsiders" to be its directors. As a rule, they have been people who have come up within the prosecutor's office itself. The prosecutor's office is not simply a law enforcement agency where one could "get rid of" political functionaries who at some time had received diplomas as food specialists, builders, etc....

I see in the General Prosecutor's chair not someone with an "iron hand" as some people wish, but rather someone with a broad perspective on our work, a democrat by nature, and of course a highly professional specialist who can quickly adapt to the office. From my personal experience, I know it takes about a year to learn the job; today one has to learn more quickly than in the past.

But God spare us from some encyclopedic windbag who "knows everything" but has no personal experience.

In conclusion, I should say that the prosecutor can and should be criticized, but should also be helped in coping with new social burdens; only then can this office become a powerful support for perestroika.

### Crime Figures in Republics, Oblasts, Krays From Jan-Sep 90

91UN0183B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 3

[USSR MVD figures for growth of crime in various union republics, autonomous republics and USSR under the rubric: "Statistics Without Commentary"]

[Text] Izvestiya No 284 and 285 published statistical data on the status of crime. The first article dealt with the most complex regions from the crime standpoint. The second gave a broader view of crime. Today's article completes the picture of the status of the country's crime and the fight against it for January-September 1990.

All the materials were provided this paper by the USSR MVD.

### Information on the Status of the Fight Against Crime in the Republics, Krays and Oblasts

Regions	Dynamics of Registered Crimes (+, - in percent of last year's comparable period)			Success Rate in Solving Crimes (%)		Number of Unsolved Crimes	+, - in percent
	All Crimes	Felonies	Criminal Investigation Crimes	Of All Types Of Work	Criminal Investigation Cases		
USSR	+12.3	+18.1	+15.1	56.9	46.7	771,484	+31.3
RSFSR	+12.1	+16.8	+14.5	56.3	46.7	519,049	+30.7
Ukrainian SSR	+14.1	+20.0	+17.3	60.9	50.4	86,106	+35.0
Belorussian SSR	+12.8	+10.6	+15.0	65.1	54.3	16,655	+48.7
Uzbek SSR	+8.8	+17.4	+11.2	68.4	56.6	19,440	+19.3
Kazakh SSR	+11.6	+19.6	+15.4	54.4	42.4	45,678	37.7
Georgian SSR	+10.6	+14.2	+36.8	72.2	54.2	3,452	+by 3.1 times
Azerbaijan SSR	-0.6	+15.0	+4.7	75.4	64.2	2,505	+24.0
Lithuanian Republic	+16.9	+29.8	+28.0	42.6	33.4	13,648	+44.8
SSR of Moldova	+4.5	+11.1	+3.3	38.9	29.6	17,680	+6.4
Kirghiz SSR	+15.4	+50.6	+20.0	48.3	37.1	9,515	+10.9
Tajik SSR	+3.0	+42.5	-2.3	65.4	52.3	3,742	-14.7
Turkmen SSR	+10.3	+16.4	+12.6	56.1	44.4	5,953	+28.8
Bashkir SSR	+4.1	+0.5	3.9	71.2	63.7	5,352	+13.6
Dagestan ASSR	+18.5	+33.2	+19.6	60.4	47.0	3,477	+25.9
Kabardino-Balk. ASSR	+5.8	+27.1	+7.2	62.4	47.6	1,994	+22.2
Kalmyk ASSR	+11.7	+15.5	+13.8	68.1	55.5	909	+40.5
Komi SSR	+22.7	+27.8	+27.3	62.6	56.5	4,121	+52.7
Mariyskaya ASSR	+16.5	+16.9	+20.8	47.6	37.4	3,036	+57.0

Information on the Status of the Fight Against Crime in the Republics, Krays and Oblasts (Continued)

Regions	Dynamics of Registered Crimes (+, - in percent of last year's comparable period)			Success Rate in Solving Crimes (%)		Number of Unsolved Crimes	+, - in percent
	All Crimes	Felonies	Criminal Investigation Crimes	Of All Types Of Work	Criminal Investigation Cases		
Sev.-Ossetian ASSR	12.2	+23.7	+16.0	47.2	31.8	2,709	+17.3
Tatar SSR	+7.7	-0.4	+7.9	54.1	44.9	13,321	+9.3
Udmurt SSR	+3.3	+3.9	+3.4	53.6	44.9	5,278	+14.7
Chech.-Ingush ASSR	+11.2	+34.1	+20.0	66.6	58.1	1,348	+49.1
Chuvash ASSR	+8.9	+2.1	+8.3	62.3	54.4	2,815	+9.0
Altay kray	-1.6	+3.8	-0.2	64.3	54.0	7,751	+10.7
Krasnodar kray	+4.8	+24.1	+5.9	54.6	42.0	19,486	+7.7
Krasnoyarsk kray	+13.3	+17.3	+14.8	49.1	41.1	17,243	+20.2
Stavropol kray	+1.0	+17.8	+0.6	60.8	50.5	9,339	+5.2
Khabarovsk kray	+10.2	+10.3	+10.1	46.0	39.5	11,684	+20.1
Amur oblast	+15.4	+26.8	+20.8	63.0	52.7	2,868	+45.5
Arkhangelsk oblast	+9.6	+0.2	+10.7	56.3	48.7	6,124	+32.0
Astrakhan oblast	+9.4	+31.6	+6.2	61.1	51.6	3,508	+11.4
Belgorod oblast	+13.8	+31.5	+19.1	63.8	51.1	2,754	+37.0

### Bakatin on New Legislation To Fight Rising Crime

91UN0242A Moscow *EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN*  
in Russian No 42, Oct 90 p 15

[Interview with V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs and member of the President's Council: "The Challenge Has Been Made and Accepted..."]

[Text] As was already reported, the problem of the dangerous increase in the scale of crime in the country was discussed at a recent session of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. It was decided to adopt a special USSR Council of Ministers resolution directed at strengthening lawfulness and law and order and to provide additional state assistance to law enforcement bodies.

*EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN* made a request to V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs and member of the President's Council, to comment on the results of the discussion.

[*EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN*] Vadim Viktorovich, the need for additional crime-fighting measures needs no explanation. The increase in crime is noticeable, so to speak, to the naked eye. Nevertheless, what do we have today "as a result," and what are the quantitative assessments of the "crime explosion?"

[Bakatin] The situation is extremely complex. During the first eight months of this year, 1,717,000 crimes were committed—an increase of 13.1 percent compared to the same period last year. There were 19.7 percent more grave crimes recorded.

The fact that criminals have a considerable number of weapons sharply inflames the situation. This year, 4,600 crimes were committed using firearms. By comparison, 5,400 were committed during all of last year. More than 10,000 pieces are involved in investigations. The criminal world is becoming increasingly daring on the streets of the cities and villages. Almost 200,000 crimes have been committed here, including one out of every eight murders. Street crime accounts for one-fourth of the aggravated assaults and half of the robberies and thefts. Moreover, the vast majority of crimes are deliberate in nature and are accompanied by resistance to the police. Some 86 workers of internal affairs bodies have died and 716 have been wounded in the line of duty.

All of this, of course, is a challenge to our society. And the state must respond to it accordingly and properly.

[*EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN*] Some readers believe that the indicators of an increase in crime are sort of a depreciation "index" in society of moral principles and moral values...

[Bakatin] I can agree with this point of view to a some extent. But this "index" also reflects the changes in the economy and the political system. In addition, it is also an indicator of the effectiveness of the work of law enforcement bodies.

The roots of crime are too "branched out" to be cut off with one blow. Life is too complicated for this. We should not nurture illusions that we will be able to change everything at once by correcting things in the economy and "treating" morals. The experience of other countries does not give grounds for this, and there is no time to wait. Therefore, in talking about protecting justice, it should primarily involve the inevitability of punishment for violating the law.

[EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN] And how serious are the problems today?

[Bakatin] Let us note, first of all, the increase in activeness and certain progress. Thus, jointly with the KGB, 921 organized crime groups have been exposed (1,310 for all of 1989). The number of detected crimes increased by 48,600, or 5.8 percent, including an increase of 16.2 for grave crimes. But these indicators do not give cause for calm. Internal affairs bodies of many cities and rayons turned out to be unprepared for the increase in crime. On the whole, the crime danger for citizens is increasing. The number of drug-associated crimes is not decreasing; the percentage of property crimes is increasing; speculators, embezzlers, bribe-takers, extortionists, and swindlers are becoming impudent. Some 674,000 crimes still remain unsolved. If you consider that, according to rough estimates, up to 70 percent of the economic crimes remain out of the field of view, "latent," including 90 percent of thefts and bribes, the situation can be considered threatening.

[EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN] The problems of internal affairs bodies are well known. Much has been written about them, but the situation is not fundamentally changing. Can we hope that this next resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers will change things?

[Bakatin] It cannot be said that the situation has "frozen." A number of organizational measures have been carried out in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The wages have been increased somewhat for workers of operations investigation and investigatory staffs and the internal troops. By decision of the Council of Ministers, this year primarily the militia has been supplied with 1.83 billion rubles worth of transportation equipment, weapons, and engineering equipment. This equipment includes 25 helicopters, 9,400 motor vehicles, 63,700 radios, 1,500 computers, and a large amount of protective equipment.

Unfortunately, the problem cannot be solved by these measures alone. We need to break stereotypes in thinking and radically change the operating methods and principles of law enforcement bodies. If we want to be successful, we also need to thoroughly improve the legal

base. Preparation of 31 draft laws for this program is nearing completion for the USSR Supreme Soviet—laws on Soviet militia, on rights and responsibilities of internal troops, on maintenance of public order, and on operational investigation activities. There have also been 135 proposals submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and ministries and departments. Their implementation could noticeably decrease the number of crimes and increase the effectiveness of bodies maintaining law and order.

[EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN] What issue among this "package" of measures is of paramount importance?

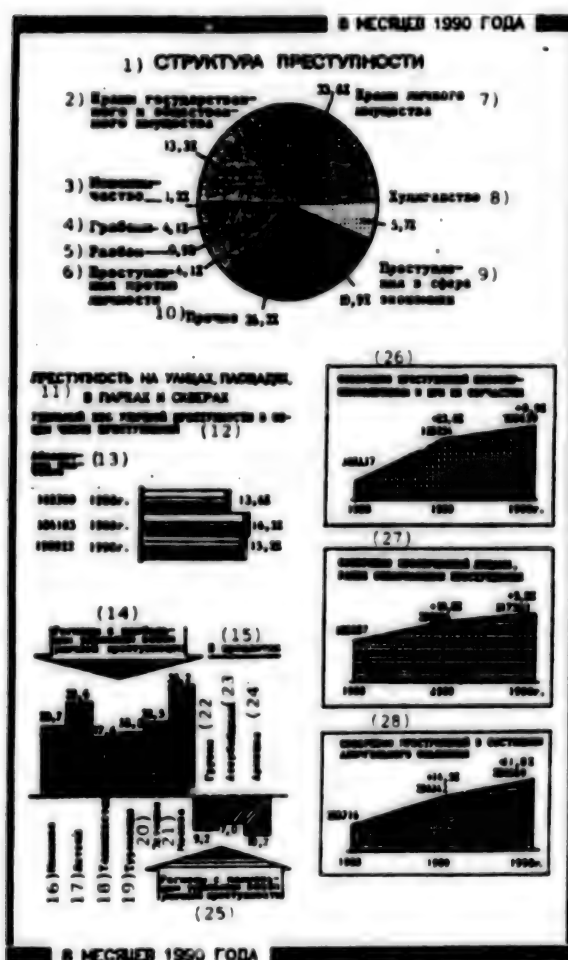
[Bakatin] It is the question of prestige in serving in internal affairs bodies. Given the present attitude towards the militia and employees of the internal troops and the level of wages in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, there are increasingly fewer people willing to take on the dangerous, difficult burden of fighting crime and risk their neck. For example, the personnel shortage since the beginning of the year has increased from 3.1 to 4.6 percent. In the first 6 months alone, 31,900 staff members retired, including 12,700 officers. Many experienced workers, true professionals, are moving to cooperatives, just because their pay is too low in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is hard to say what will happen if we just observe this process...

[EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN] Of course, our readers are interested in the content of the resolution being prepared. What proposals has the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs made?

It is difficult to talk about the content of this document; work is continuing. In our view, today we should considerably step up the law enforcement efforts of the republic and local authorities. We should implement the interim statute on additional crime-fighting measures that was drawn up in accordance with the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This statute gives law and order workers additional powers and rights which will enable them more effectively to conduct operational investigation activities and counter gangsterism, terrorism, drug abuse, and the "shadow economy." It is proposed to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft USSR Law on Increasing Liability for Abuses in Trade and Speculation. We also need to take steps to improve financial and material-technical support of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. In particular, we must institute a procedure whereby a portion of the amounts of reimbursed material damage and also confiscated property would be transferred to internal affairs bodies.

In addition, we have proposed a considerable increase in the salaries of the rank-and-file and officer personnel of internal affairs bodies effective 1 January 1991. It must be understood that the country cannot economize on the safety of its citizens. In the present period of political and economic renovation, we cannot allow crime—and this is beneficial for it—to "mix our cards" and cause an outburst of social tension. We will act decisively.





## For First 8 Months of 1990

## Key:

1. Structure of Crime
2. Larceny of state and public property
3. Fraud
4. Theft
5. Robbery
6. Crimes against persons
7. Larceny of personal property
8. Hooliganism
9. Crimes in the sphere of the economy
10. Others
11. Crime on streets, in squares, in parks, and in public gardens
12. Percentage of street crime in total number of crimes
13. Actual number
14. Regions with greatest percentage of street crime
15. In percent
16. Moldova [Moldavia]
17. Latvia
18. Tajikistan
19. Turkmenia
20. Estonia
21. Moscow
22. Georgia
23. Azerbaijan
24. Armenia
25. Regions with lowest percentage of street crime
26. Crimes committed by or involving minors
27. Crimes committed by repeat offenders
28. Crimes committed in the state of intoxication



For First 8 Months of 1990

Key:

1. Dynamics of Crime
2. Total Crimes Recorded
3. Including grave crimes
4. By union republics
5. RSFSR
6. Ukraine

7. Belorussia
8. Uzbekistan
9. Kazakhstan
10. Georgia
11. Azerbaijan
12. Lithuania

13. Moldova
14. Latvia
15. Kirghizia
16. Tajikistan
17. Armenia
18. Turkmenia
19. Estonia



## For First 8 Months of 1990

## Key:

1. Crime in the Sphere of the Economy
2. 8 months of 1989
3. Percentage increase/decrease compared to 1988
4. 8 months of 1990
5. Percentage increase/decrease compared to 1989
6. Crimes recorded
7. Including embezzlement
8. Of that number, those in large and especially large amounts
9. Bribery
10. Speculation
11. Detection of Crimes
12. Percentage of detection
13. Total crimes
14. Grave crimes
15. Crimes involving criminal investigation
16. Grave crimes involving criminal investigation
17. Premeditated murder
18. Aggravated assault
19. Rape
20. Assault and robbery
21. Theft
22. Larceny of state and public property
23. Larceny of personal property
24. Including from apartments
25. Hooliganism
26. Theft of weapons and ammunition
27. Detection of Crimes in Union Republics
28. Crimes detected
29. Percentage of detection
30. RSFSR
31. Ukraine
32. Belorussia
33. Uzbekistan
34. Kazakhstan
35. Georgia
36. Azerbaijan
37. Lithuania
38. Moldova
39. Latvia
40. Kirghizia
41. Tajikistan
42. Armenia
43. Turkmenia
44. Estonia
45. Moscow



**Paper's Staff Supports CPSU Control of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA**

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[Statement "adopted at an expanded meeting of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial collegium on 24 September with one vote against" published under the heading: "From the Editors of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA"]

[Text] We have received with great bewilderment and alarm a resolution "On the Newspapers and Magazines of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and Newspapers of the Local Soviets of Peoples Deputies," adopted by the parliament of Russia, expressing a lack of confidence in the editorial board of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and giving instructions to replace the editor in chief within one week and to approach the CPSU Central Committee with a proposal to transfer SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA to the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

A charge of bias was leveled against us at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet. Let us say right away that statements by some deputies of the Supreme Soviet to the effect that the leadership of the newspaper comes out against all efforts of the parliament and government of Russia and, in particular, allegedly opposes the implementation of a program of transition to market relations, are at the very least incorrect. No member of the editorial board in particular nor an individual publication in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has given grounds for such statements. On the contrary, the pages of our newspaper have been provided for expressing various points of view and analyzing various existing programs of transition to market relations. It will suffice to familiarize oneself with the published texts of interviews with G.A. Yavlinskiy and L.I. Abalkin in order to establish this. At the same time, the newspaper naturally comes out against rash attempts to make crucial decisions without seeking the advice of the peoples of Russia and against all of us being drawn into dubious new experiments without letting us ponder their objectives and possible consequences.

It is noteworthy that the authors of the resolution adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet did not go to the trouble of substantiating in some way their reasons for expressing a lack of confidence in the editorial board.

The accusation that the newspaper does not cover the operation of the Supreme Soviet is absolutely groundless and without proof. In reality, newspaper space equal to one-quarter of the annual press run has been used to publish the stenographic record of the meetings of the Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the Supreme Soviet alone. This fact is without precedent in the practice of our country and the world. This is to say nothing about numerous reports, articles, and interviews with people's deputies, heads of chambers, and press conferences of the leaders of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

and the government of the republic. The continuous publication of a lengthy stenographic record markedly reduces newspaper space and detracts from the content of issues, which causes an unfavorable reaction from our readers.

Therefore, that the newspaper supposedly pays little attention to law-making activities and those of the deputies is not the issue. Many speakers in the Supreme Soviet are unhappy with the political direction of the newspaper. Some of them openly assail the CPSU. In particular, at one of the recent meetings, an appeal by a group of deputies was read containing a call to give up participation in the celebration of 7 November.

It is not surprising that a campaign to discredit SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and its editor in chief began from the very first day of work of the Congress of People's Deputies. Attacks have been especially stepped up recently, after he was elected a member of the Central Committee at the 28th CPSU Congress and member of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo after the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party. In essence, a people's deputy and a communist journalist is being persecuted and discredited for his political beliefs. Theses are being proclaimed regarding freedom of the press and its demonopolization while at the same time, in essence, strict dictates are being given to the press and dissidence is being rejected. Is this compatible with the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media," with laws on civil rights, with the USSR and RSFSR Constitutions, and, finally, with statements to the effect that we are building a democratic rule-of-law state?!

Now about the legal aspect of the case. The issue of financial and property rights to the newspaper has been raised in the parliament of Russia. What is the basis for this? Are there such rights? Here is an excerpt from the stenographic record of a recent Supreme Soviet meeting:

"V.A. YUGIN (Zapadnyy National-Territorial Electoral District, city of Leningrad, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet) ...Our committee (for Glasnost and the Mass Media—editorial note) repeatedly got together with the Ministry of Information and reviewed this issue. We drew the following conclusions: SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was founded by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; that is, the base was purely that of the party. The editor was confirmed by the Central Committee of the party. The Supreme Soviet of Russia and the Council of Ministers of Russia have nothing to do with this newspaper from the point of view of property. This is why the committee recommends that the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Council of Ministers give up the role of co-founder and instruct the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation to embark on publishing its own newspaper as soon as possible."

Indeed, this is so. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was founded by the CPSU Central Committee in 1956 in conjunction with the creation of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR. By decision of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat dated 11 April 1956, the publication of the sociopolitical newspaper for the Russian Federation was entrusted to the CPSU Central Committee Publishing House PRAVDA, which was obligated to house the editorial office in the building of the PRAVDA Combine, furnish the necessary printing facilities, and provide financing from the party budget for the publication of the newspaper.

All rights to publish the newspaper, to set its political course, select members of the editorial board, and appoint the editor in chief belong to the CPSU Central Committee. Between 1 July 1956 and 9 April 1966, the newspaper was published as an organ of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR and the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and between 9 July 1966 and 31 December 1973 as a newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee. By decision of the CPSU Central Committee, the newspaper has been published since 1 January 1974 as an organ of the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. As a party publication, the newspaper has covered the practice of the development of soviets in Russia. However, neither the RSFSR Council of Ministers nor the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has ever performed the functions of co-editors with regard to it, incurred expenses to publish and disseminate the newspaper, or participated in the selection and confirmation of the editorial staff, including the editorial board and the editor in chief.

There is one more fact that by no means can be passed over in silence. Let us recall that the newspaper was created in conjunction with the creation of the CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR precisely as a party publication, precisely for the communists of Russia and a broad circle of readers. For 34 years, the communists of Russia have used this newspaper as their forum. Along with other publications, we have acquired our own group of authors and our own circle of readers who share the position of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. At present, under a multiparty system and political pluralism, everyone may select a publication whose spirit and convictions are close to his own. We are happy that in our highly complex time we used to have and still have faithful, reliable friends and severe critics—our readers whose preference is for their SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Finally, not a single newspaper in the world can express the positions of all political parties and currents at the same time. Publications of various persuasions exist; this is the way world practice has evolved. Therefore, the most correct way out from the point of view of both the law and common sense under existing circumstances is for the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the RSFSR to create their own printed organs. We welcome the publication of such periodicals. As far as the editorial

collective is concerned, the editorial board, the chiefs of departments and groups, and the majority of creative employees have come out in favor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA remaining a party publication and in favor of becoming its co-founder together with the CPSU Central Committee.

We state our position openly and honestly. In the future, we will continue to advocate the socialist option, the sovereignty and rebirth of Russia, and the preservation of a renewed USSR, seek to ensure civil accord, defend the working people, and fight for their civil and social rights in a market economy. We will stand together with you, our readers, and we appeal to you for support.

#### **'Phenomenon' of Leningrad TV Programming Examined**

91UN0235A Moscow TELEVIDENIYE I  
RADIOVESHCHANIYE in Russian  
No 9, Sep 90 pp 10-13

[Interviews with Aleksandr Sokolov, Olga Generalova, Aleksandr Borisoglebskiy, Vsevolod Bolgarchuk and Svetlana Sorokina by Arkadiy Sorokin, Anatoliy Ivanov and others: "Does the Phenomenon of Leningrad TV Exist?"]

[Text] Does the phenomenon of Leningrad TV exist? The editorial staff of TELEVIDENIYE I RADIOVESHCHANIYE considered this question rhetorical. Of course, it exists! Such programs as "The Fifth Wheel," "Public Opinion," "600 Seconds," "Telecourier," and "The Musical Ring" have long since become the leaders of surveys of television viewers and experts. The ratings of other programs are also high.

The trip of a group of our staff members to the city on the Neva confirmed both this high evaluation and the self-assessment of our Leningrad colleagues, and at the same time something unexpected—a "pre-crisis," a "crisis"... Believe us that these words were repeated at many meetings and not only in the short conversations reported in these pages. What is the reason for such appraisals? We think that it is in the rapidly changing social atmosphere. The euphoria of the first years of glasnost, which emerged after decades of silence, had passed. They have uncovered the blank spaces, illuminated the dark spots and shuddered at the bloody ones... What next?

The conversations with the Leningrad people has given firm assurance that all television—both Central and regional—is on the threshold of changes. It is more difficult to "give life" than to celebrate it, but it has proven to be also more difficult than to criticize. It appeared to us that the majority of the interlocutors met in the Leningrad television studio have become aware of tomorrow's requirements. Is this not the basis for a new take-off? But from a yesterday that has passed swiftly by—that means for a long time—the very same question remained for the mission—Does the Phenomenon of Leningrad TV Exist?

Aleksandr Sokolov, deputy chief editor of the creative television center 'Lira'

### The Eternal Waits

[Sokolov] Of course it exists. I do not think that the journalists working at Central Television or in other regions are inferior to their Leningrad colleagues in anything. Apparently the phenomenon of Leningrad television is to be explained, on the one hand, by the special political climate in the city and the sufficient boldness of the television executives and, on the other, by the energy and the ability to defend one's views and one's positions of such journalists as Bella Kurkova, Aleksandr Nevzorov...

[Interviewer] Can one also ascribe the creative television center "Lira" to the phenomenon of Leningrad TV?

[Sokolov] Alas, the reasons for the formation of this creative association are far from being local in nature. It is no secret that the politization of broadcasting is increasing everywhere while artistic programs devoted to problems of literature, art, television theater and films occupy an ever smaller place on the air.

At one time we had a very strong literature and drama editorial staff, which for a variety of reasons has found itself to be literally destroyed. One of the latest steps which "finished off" artistic broadcasting was the creation of a new artistic-publicistic editorial staff where the truly popular and very representative program "The Fifth Wheel" originated. However, this editorial staff, with the exception of individual and rather rare artistic programs, has receded into pure social and political journalism.

In connection with the fact that the volume of artistic broadcasting had constantly diminished, the decision was taken last year to create an experimental creative association which would work on problems of literature, art, the theater and films.

[Interviewer] But television's problems also still exist. Is "Lira" experiencing them.

[Sokolov] Undoubtedly. This applies to equipment, air time, finances, the equipping of studios... However, the chief reason is that a break in the continuity of cultural traditions has occurred. I think that this is characteristic not only for Leningrad television but also for Central Television.

[Interviewer] And for all our culture.

[Sokolov] You are right. The saddest thing is that much was neglected in the last 15 years. Today the younger generation is ready to devote itself to purely artistic broadcasting with far from the previous enthusiasm and selfless devotion. Judging by everything, immediate problems interest it to a greater degree and not the eternal questions of art, the place of the artist in this world...

[Interviewer] And how do you explain this strange figure—15. The seventies—this was a profound "tested" stagnation in the field of television broadcasting when one could not talk about anything.

[Sokolov] Quite so. In political broadcasting one could not talk about anything and... everything was concentrated in the artistic!

[Interviewer] Let us return, however, to the today's "Lira." It was created recently but, speaking the language of the selfsame stagnation, are you able already to excel in something.

[Sokolov] The process of forming a creative collective is a complex one and the "polishing" is still continuing but, I think, some of our efforts can be considered significant. To begin with I would mention the following television productions: Gubarev's "The Sarcophagus" (which was going to be shown on Central Television but has not yet); Dostoyevskiy's "The Double"; Anouilh's "Antigone"; Ibsen's "Ghosts"... Our "Masquerade," based on Lermontov, perhaps will appear controversial to some. We were able, not so much on the basis of our own impulse as by virtue of tragic circumstances—the death of G. A. Tovstonogov—to transfer his famous plays, "The History of a Horse" and "Energetic People," to the screen.

We think that a rebirth of spiritual culture is impossible without the return of names which have been forgotten because of political passions or for other reasons. In particular, we have created a cycle of programs which tell about the life and creative work of Uspenskiy, Abramov, Berggolts, German, about people who for some reason have faded into the background although they occupy a worthy place in Soviet literature.

A play based on the works of A. Vampilov is in our theatrical plans. Pavde will stage it. I think that will be an interesting work.

As for films, for now there is a kind of detective bias here. We have shot "The Speckled Band" by Conan Doyle and we are preparing a six-part whodunit with a documentary basis.

Originally we had set the task of directing our attention only to the creative forces of Leningrad but now we have realized that even the creative potential of such a city is inadequate for large-volume thematic programming. One is obliged to go out to the Federation level.

[Interviewer] Theatrical productions, films—a rather expensive pleasure, while everybody is complaining now about the lack of funds. How is "Lira" financed?

[Sokolov] In the beginning we got more money and people felt a certain financial freedom. However, now all the studios are in a very difficult situation and both finances and technical resources are very, very limited. And since the Leningrad Soviet has taken 280 hours of broadcasting for itself we now will be practically out of work.



[Interviewer] The Leningrad Soviet!

[Sokolov] Yes. They need airtime for relaying, daily hour-long programs, and daily ten-minute spots.

[Interviewer] Again political broadcasting prevails over artistic.

[Sokolov] That is the usual way.

**Olga Generalova, deputy chief editor of the young people's editorial staff, MC of the program: "Television Service 'Chapygina, 6'"**

### **We Do Not Hear One Another**

[Generalova] The phenomenon of Leningrad television exists if only because people ask about it. What does it owe its origin to? First of all because at some moment we discovered for ourselves that one can talk on the air about those subjects which previously were discussed in a whisper in kitchens and "smoking-rooms." Not thinking about the form of the programs, about the new decisions, we discovered the forbidden subjects for ourselves. It was enough to put on the set a person who had been "jailed" at some time—and this already was a discovery. Secondly, I remember this feeling—delight in being able to work in the open air. Moreover this was not the open air from which television began. Then it was a technological necessity but now it is the new level of the independence of the journalist and of his freedom.

We have lingered rather long at these discoveries. However they cannot endlessly be the engine for the development of television. Today, for example, interest in OGONYEK is already not what it was in the first "Korotich" year when there was a real publication boom. Today we accept it as a normal, customary occurrence. Why do I talk about this magazine? Because, in my opinion, the boom around Leningrad TV is coming to an end as well.

"The Fifth Wheel" was our OGONYEK transferred to the television screen—forbidden subjects, forgotten names. This really was a revelation. It was.

I think it would be interesting if sociologists were to check my observation that the people of Leningrad today regard their own television more critically than the Muscovites. In the capital a kind of persistent image of Leningrad TV continues to work for our popularity.

[Interviewer] That is natural. Every day Leningrad people compare what they see and hear on the screen with reality, but the others still take it at face value.

[Generalova] Yes, and I think that by sacrificing the professional striving for objectivity and for accuracy of fact and word for the sake of a ringing phrase and a populist slogan we lose the wise and intelligent television viewer. I will cite a simple example. Recently a taxi-driver who took me to work asked: "Yesterday on television they said that independent television is on the air. What does this mean?"

What could I answer him if I know that today there is no independent television and that the conditions for its existence do not even exist.

[Interviewer] An independent television which gets air time, equipment, finances and channels from state television...

[Generalova] That is the point. In my view a quite real possibility has developed today for the expression of various points of view on the air. If it has already come to that within every editorial staff there are, surely, those on the left, the right, and in the center. All right, let there be people who hold different convictions and support them in their programs, not violating, however, certain conditions: honesty, accuracy and professionalism. Having released all the elements we not only harm the broadcasting but also confuse the television viewer once and for all.

[Interviewer] Who, as the research indicates, on the whole trust television.

You have repeated several times the thesis of the need for high professionalism when working on the air. But often there are programs whose popularity is in the unusual, the non-standard, the non-professional MCs, in the possibility of getting information first hand and not from an announcer or journalist...

[Generalova] I think that such programs are fairly rare. I will cite an example from the life of our Leningrad TV. The commission on glasnost of the Leningrad Soviet does every day the ten-minute programs "I ask for the floor," in which only deputies of the Leningrad Soviet participate. They wanted the MC to be one of the deputies. The program is very essential because you really do get information first hand, but still, you see, this information needs to be presented. One needs to be able to speak briefly, say a great deal, and be graphic. One needs to be able to conquer the air. One needs to get rid of the "pictures" with talking heads sitting on the set without moving and pontificating by turns, that have set one's teeth on edge... This, I repeat again, essential program needs professional help, but...the Leningrad Soviet refuses it because of an ancient conflict with television.

And perhaps our main problem is not personnel, not financial, not the lack of equipment but that, like all society, the workers in television do not want to hear each other.

**Aleksandr Borisoglebskiy, director of the creative association '600 Seconds'**

### **One Cannot Live This Way**

[Borisoglebskiy] It exists. And not because different people work here but because in Moscow, where there are also powerful journalists, it is far more difficult to work. The center represses the human personality so much that it simply cannot reveal itself.

Recently we shot a short subject in Moscow. In order to "penetrate" into the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Leninskiy Komsomol, where they make the "Moskvich" and not strategic rockets, our poor administrator had to get 10 visas. In Leningrad we go into any enterprise on the basis of the "600 Seconds" identity card.

But if one is to talk in specific terms then, in my opinion, the phenomenon of Leningrad television began with Nevzorov, for whom "The Fifth Wheel" and the other programs competed.

[Interviewer] Today your program is one of the most popular...

[Borisoglebskiy] The most popular in the country according to the surveys.

[Interviewer] However, popularity is a passing thing. Some of your colleagues even think that Leningrad TV is on the brink of a crisis. And you!

[Borisoglebskiy] Of course we are seeking new forms. A supplement to the program "600 Seconds" has begun to appear on Fridays although, strictly speaking, this is an altogether different program which is completely devoted to a single subject. I think that it is a significant step forward in our work.

[Interviewer] Recently you became the association "600 Seconds." What does this form mean? Who belongs to the association? How is it financed?

[Borisoglebskiy] We now have eight staff members. We want to bring this number up to 25 persons. For the time being we finance our staff people from the budget and the non-staff people from what we earn.

[Interviewer] Your program is super-current, as they say, from the wheels to the air. Perhaps therefore you are often accused of inaccuracy, of reporting unverified facts and of the incorrect placing of emphasis?

[Borisoglebskiy] We do not put unverified information onto the air. We have a special group for checking facts and we try to get confirmation from at least three sources. Sometimes this leads to the information being too late and outdated.

Recently a certain joint enterprise sent 600 tons of titanium abroad. We knew about this but there was no reliable confirmation. When we got it and put the information on the air it was already late and they had succeeded in exporting the titanium.

However, I think that, as is customary in the West, we have the right to provide information "from unverified sources." One needs simply to notify the television viewer about this in advance. It is clear that it is not possible to check every piece of current information immediately.

[Interviewer] Let us say frankly that your program often does not improve one's frame of mind: murders, suicides, crimes, the slipshodness of officials, the poverty and the lawlessness of the poor... Does it not frighten you that in the rather difficult times which our society is suffering that you are adding to the gloomy colors?

[Borisoglebskiy] That is a very important question for me; I often reflect on it. People call us up. The management has told us: "Enough of these fears. People have become tired of politics; they want calm and diversions..." But I think that no, there is not enough. We won the elections to the Leningrad Soviet. The people of Leningrad have realized that one cannot live this way. But what goes on beyond the city's limits? What is taking place in other oblasts? What did the congress of the Russian Communist Party reveal?

You see, every day dozens of people call us on all the telephones and use the latest swear words because we unmask their idols and "have done violence to the sacred things." This sounds somewhat banal but as yet people will not realize that they live like slaves and that one cannot live like this. We will continue our work.

If I were a big chief I would order everyone, as a must, to look at Stanislav Govorukhin's film "One Cannot Live This Way." By the way, many viewers express the opinion in their letters that this film is an extension of the program "600 Seconds."

**Vsevolod Bolgarchuk, deputy chief editor of the information editorial staff**

### Let Us Revert to TV

[Bolgarchuk] The phenomenon of Leningrad television began with the fact that "Public Opinion," "600 Seconds," and "The Fifth Wheel" took the liberty of having an unofficial point of view and of advocating a more realistic and therefore unaccustomed view of our life. This became the seed from which our popularity grew.

The people were interesting. For the first time we saw that it is possible to talk without a piece of paper, that it is possible not to look around backwards or upwards after every word... All this we have fully mastered and now we use the old discoveries in the dry runs.

At the same time, perhaps, there is still an opportunity for greater sharpness, topicality, browbeating. However, television broadcasting is developing spontaneously and we let a lot slip. In this respect (not only in this, of course—Ed.) we yield to the information television services of the West which nevertheless drive the "raw material" into specific frameworks and bear the responsibility for their information being a mirror of the today of the world, the country, the city... We have not achieved this as yet although we are setting such a goal. When today I give directions to the creative group "Telestudio 'Fact'" for a 20 minute broadcast I say: "I ask that the obligatory material from which the viewer

learns about the city's day be done in 10 minutes and the rest is, by all means, for any ideas, anything you can think of..."

We are not in a position to make a qualitative leap forward because the freedom which has brought us to such a height that all around they have begun to speak about the the phenomenon of Leningrad TV, has led more and more to slovenliness, to lack of a sense of obligation, and to manipulation by the air. Strange as it may seem, we have lost the professional level somewhat. When anything at all is possible there are no criteria.

I think that a growing crisis in our work is inevitable if we do not do two simple things: we do not revert from "meetings" on the air to television and we do not define laws of work which we will firmly adhere to. Yesterday we spurned them on a wave of glasnost but today one must not beg them from the obkom or the Central Committee but set them oneself.

If today one analyzes many of our programs which are still on the wavelength in a strictly professional manner, I am afraid that we will be somewhat disheartened by their low level. We do not engage in this at present because our yardsticks are only political and instantaneous.

[Interviewer] But if the editorial staff follows its own concept...

[Bolgarchuk] What are you talking about? If we do not have an all-union and regional concept, how can we develop an editorial staff one?

[Interviewer] Well, we do not have an economic concept as well but the enterprises operate...

[Bolgarchuk] Here is operating without a concept for you. Nevertheless, it is far easier for television to develop such a concept than the state, the party, or any social structure because professional and moral precepts remain to this day which it is imperative to follow. Even the non-distortion of facts and the affording of the opportunity to express another point of view already can underlie it.

It is no accident that our editorial staff, which previously included "600 Seconds," has broken off relations with it. One cannot live under the same roof and express different points of view. If there is an alternative position, then the "alternative" should leave the editorial staff and exist apart. Then we will be able to express different points of view on one and the same process, one and the same event.

[Interviewer] We are talking principally about the professional and moral problems of broadcasting; however, they are inseparable from its organization, structure, finances...

[Bolgarchuk] Undoubtedly.

[Interviewer] What are the reserves for development in these directions?

[Bolgarchuk] The editorial staffs both lived and live under serfdom. Even today I am not able to link the result of the work of our employees with their wages. Independence is imperative! The experiment which is being conducted at Central Television (The Main Editorial Staff for Young People of Central Television has been given the rights of a juridical person and its own account.—Ed.) ought to be introduced not as an experiment for one or two editorial staffs but as the basic arrangement. Then we will be able to solve personnel problems and regulate the mechanism of the work within the editorial staff and one's own and not imposed structure for interaction with other editorial staffs. So long as we do not solve these problems, which are remote, it would seem, from "pure" journalism, we cannot talk about any concept whatsoever and about some new take-off. Because underground production still exists at Leningrad TV. Come here at night and you will see how they rob the television studio. I am sure that allocated tapes are being sold and that many people obtain their basic income not in the column where the word "wages" stands. The best cameramen and the best specialists have left us because there is "Russian Video," and still some associations where one can live comfortably and what is the main thing—feel oneself free. We have lost personnel; we frequently have no one to do programs. If we do not enter into the market economy, but its elements already exist, a crisis is inevitable.

**Svetlana Sorokina, senior editor of 'Telecourier'**

#### **A Way of Life! Television**

[Sorokina] Perhaps it is worth while to talk not about the phenomenon but the crisis. At least of our program. Now one either should think up something new or get out. Unfortunately, "Telecourier" is not one of those programs which can exist for decades.

The program became possible when new equipment showed up. But today we have been pushed to the wall because of the lack of equipment. We have no editing equipment, nothing to get around the city in, and the cameras regularly break down... Yesterday's equipment determines today's programs in many respects.

[Interviewer] You began working in TV with "Telecourier" and then transferred to "600 Seconds"...

[Sorokina] There was no transfer. As a television worker I am able to participate in various programs and, while doing "Seconds" I continued to work on "Courier."

[Interviewer] It would seem that your work in "Seconds" requires so much time and effort that there should not be enough for another program...

[Sorokina] Indeed it might appear that it is easier to do one program a week than three. Strange as it may seem it is all the other way around. When you work "in a flow,"



then you "become surrounded" by information, subjects and people and it is easier to work. Right now I am doing little work and that is bad. My head really hurts.

[Interviewer] How long did you work on the program "600 Seconds?"

[Sorokina] Two and a half years.

[Interviewer] Pardon me, perhaps we are intruding into some personal motives, but on "Seconds" you had your admirers and adherents and your "voluntary" departure was unexpected and distressing for them. And the explanation on the air convinced no one...

[Sorokina] I have said what I wanted to. There is nothing to add.

[Interviewer] You are not sorry that you left?

[Sorokina] It is complicated. I am sure that I did right, but I have lost work that I love and now am practically out of things.

[Interviewer] If you are not satisfied with the present state of affairs what prevents you from finding a new turn in your creative biography and doing a new program?

[Sorokina] I cannot say that I am not trying to do this. What was I not offered after leaving that program both here in television and beyond its borders—from work in the ispolkom to the Children's Fund. But I decided that one should not make a fuss.

I am now trying to comprehend what I might be able to devote the next few years to. I have some "television" ideas, but everything is held up by the usual and, as it sometimes seems, insurmountable barrier. A fighter is not alone on TV so like-minded persons ready to unite in a creative group are needed and the same notorious equipment which one does not have enough of even for current operations. The present level of technical equipment is a disgrace. It is scandalous poverty which it is not customary to talk about and is shameful.

Besides, speaking honestly, I, like our "Telecourier," am in a kind of crisis and I do not know how it will end—with a new spiral or with retiring "from the scene."

[Interviewer] Is it so gloomy? Well then busy yourself with the family...

[Sorokina] I have no family. Television eats up lots of time and effort, and, if you like, life. It has become a way of life. Therefore, when I lost the work which, it seemed to me, I knew how to do, I also lost the ground under my feet.

We intended, as usual, to sum up the results of these short conversations but the last one, with Svetlana Sorokina, speaking honestly, knocked us out of the rut. In reflecting in the pages of **TELEVIDENIYE I RADIOVESHCHANIYE** on problems and tendencies do we forget about the human being who is more important than both?

A talented journalist is going through a difficult moment in her creative destiny... Is it not more important to help her than to sum up results? And is not the help and support of colleagues from Leningrad TV more important for her than of the colleagues of our journal?

We will end the selection of materials about the television phenomenon in an untraditional manner: **ALL WILL BE FINE, SVETLANA. WE ARE SURE!**

#### New Latvian Political Journal To Be Published

91P50045A Riga *SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA* in Russian  
28 Sep 90 p 1

[Notice by the editorial board of the journal *ISTORIYA. SOTSIOLOGIYA. POLITIKA*: "New Theoretical Journal"]

[Text] Starting with 1991 a new periodical publication *ISTORIYA. SOTSIOLOGIYA. POLITIKA* [HISTORY. SOCIOLOGY. POLITICS] will be finding its way to the reader. This journal is being set up under the auspices of the Latvian CP Central Committee Institute of Social-Political Research; it will be issued on a quarterly basis in Latvian and Russian, 12 signatures in volume.

The editorial board's plans include, informing readers about results from public opinion surveys, surveys of social-political interests and polls of various categories of the populace. Articles on the key issues of Latvian history, activities of political parties and social organizations will appear regularly in the journal. We will also publish documents and materials from archives, memoirs and political biographies of prominent state and public figures.

The pages of the journal will be open to keen theoretical and political discussions and pluralism of opinion. At the same time, we will strive toward an even, objective evaluation of history and of contemporary life. One of our most important tasks is the prognostication of political processes in the republic.

Historians, sociologists, political experts, party workers and the broad public are being invited to join in the author's collective. We will be glad to work with young scientists and publicists.

The journal's editorial board is aware of how difficult it is, under contemporary conditions, to find its own audience of readers, but we hope, that we will succeed, and are preparing for serious give and take with smart, intelligent and inquisitive readers.

In urging you to subscribe to the journal, we would like to remind you, our future reader, that the index number of the Russian-language publication is 77104 and the Latvian-language one is 77103, the subscription price for one year, including delivery, is 4 rubles 34 kopecks.

**New Uzbek-Kazakh Writers Association  
Publication**

91US0025A *Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN*  
*in Kazakh 22 Sep 90 p 4*

[Article by S. Berdimukhameduly: "AQTOLGHAY"]

[Text] When the chiefs of Kazakhstan and of the Central Asian republics met at the beginning of summer this year, this event again made clear to our minds how deep the roots of kindred connection and fraternity are of the peoples of the Central Asian lowlands, with their historical connections since ancient times, and gave a new character to the existing relationships.

This is something which has grown out of the needs of the complex and difficult times of the present. Bearing this in mind, Chimkent Oblast and young Uzbek poets

and writers have formed their "Igilik" Association, and have taken in hand publication of a new publication. The first number of the new newspaper appeared recently. Its name is AQTOLGHAY!

It is a youth publication. From its first steps, it has suggested to its readers the creations of Maqlytmquly, Saghyr Otemisuly and other novellas of eastern song, and has presented fragments from the "Qobysnama," written 900 years ago. At the same time, it has devoted broad scope to the works of a group of young writers from fraternal republics. The publication has reported on the major tasks which lie before it.

To sing brilliantly of the multi-faceted life of the people is always difficult. Thus we offer our sincerest support for AQTOLGHAY!

**Leader Explains Formation of Soviet 'Ecoforum for Peace' Affiliate**

91WN0036A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
26 Sep 90 Union edition p 3

[Article by K. Smirnov: "'Ecoforum for Peace' in the USSR"]

[Text] The State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies, and the Kniga Publishing House have founded the Soviet national affiliate of the worldwide "Ecoforum for Peace" movement.

The correspondent of IZVESTIYA met with Academician B. Laskorin, who heads the "Ecoforum for Peace."

[Smirnov] Boris Nikolayevich, what is this? Is it yet another organization claiming ecological leadership in the country?

[Laskorin] It is a question less of leadership than of a center for consolidation. The "Ecoforum for Peace," which was established in 1986 presumes the effective participation of scientists and political and social personalities, whatever their convictions and beliefs, and does not suppress anyone's interests.

However, here is a paradox: The USSR was among the founders of the movement. Academician I. Frolov is one of its co-chairmen, and represents our country. However, we had no national "Ecoforum for Peace" affiliate in the country, although the need for such an organization was great.

Today our numerous societal environmental protection movements are threatened by a dispersal of forces and funds. Yet the frightening ecological crisis which is threatening the world and the country recognizes neither state nor area borders nor the variety of political banners or religious ceremonies.

[Smirnov] What will be the first steps of the new committee?

[Laskorin] To organize the "Eco-Black Sea-90" expedition. This expedition is part of the long-term Danube River-Black Sea-Mediterranean "Ecoforum" project. The Bulgarians brilliantly completed the first such expedition with a ship which sailed up the Danube River. Now, starting with 1 October, the Soviet scientific vessel "Akademik Vernadskiy" will be sailing on the Black Sea from Sebastopol to Istanbul. On board ship there will be 120 scientists not only from all countries bordering the Black Sea but also from the United States, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, and other countries. Scientific conferences and meetings with participants in ecological movements and municipal authorities are planned for Odessa, Constanta, Varna, and Istanbul. Incidentally, V. Simonenko, the mayor of Odessa, has issued invitations to the mayors of all major Black Sea cities. As the people of Odessa claim, not without reason, this will be the first meeting of its kind in history. The

need for it is obvious, for bells warning of ecological troubles are ringing in a number of settlements along the Black Sea.

Discussions will be held aboard the "Vernadskiy" on the results of the maritime expeditions conducted in the summer (the Soviet and the Bulgarian) and a land expedition along our coastal line. The Soviet Peace Foundation is financing the "Eco-Black Sea-90" project.

**Effort of Greens To Shut Down Industrial Polluters Criticized**

91WN0036B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
18 Sep 90 Union Edition p 1

[Article by V. Antonov: "Are the Greens Always Right?"]

[Text] Until recently, our country was substantially behind the other industrially developed countries in the volume of chemical output both as a percentage of the gross national product as well as in per capita output. Now, judging by available information, this lagging has worsened.

What is the reason? It lies in the not always considered actions of the Greens, under whose pressure it becomes necessary to close down ever new production facilities: shops, production lines, and entire plants. As a result of such mass close-downs, one of the basic sectors is being essentially eliminated, triggering a chain reaction in other related sectors.

Here are some figures. In less than four years of the present five-year period, for ecological reasons alone 300 enterprises, one-third of them chemical, have been closed down in the country. The sector has suffered losses totaling nearly 3 billion rubles.

But, some may say, what are such sectorial losses to us? We, who do not even smoke, are much more concerned with the following question: Why and for how long have disappeared, shall we say, filter cigarettes?

The reason for their disappearance is that the Vladimir chemical plant, which produces the raw material for filters, became the victim of the Green offensive. Let us point out that in addition to raw materials for filters the plant also produced materials for frames for eye glasses. This means that we shall be soon threatened by another or, to be more specific, an intensified shortage of frames.

The textile workers are in a state of shock, for the Derbenevskiy Chemical Plant in Moscow, which holds a monopoly position in the production of some fabric dyes, is being closed down. As a result, you and I, the consumers, will be deprived of 400 million meters of woolen and 50 million meters of knitted fabrics worth approximately 9 billion rubles.

What about the shortage of soap? Publicly, in the press, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the government as a whole, as well as God knows who



else, were blamed for this shortage. What was ignored was once again the Green movement, under the pressure of which several shops producing synthetic fatty acids, which are the main component in the manufacturing of detergents, were closed down.

More such examples could be quoted, indicating the harm inflicted on our pharmaceutical industry, as well as the difficult situation prevailing in the protein-vitamin concentrate industry as well as the threat to the production of motion picture and photographic film. The overall amount of the losses in the chemical industry is such that it would be impossible to compensate for them through imports, since the country lacks the necessary foreign exchange for such imports.

Yes, nature must be protected. However, we must not forget common sense, as was the case, for instance, in Volgodonsk, where the public and the local authorities demanded the closing down of the chemical plant. The way this public opinion was shaped is quite indicative. Its origins may seem to be the good aspiration of the local department of the State Environmental Protection Committee to protect the city and the citizens and to give them an idea of the environment in which they live and are raising their children. To this effect, data on harmful industrial emissions began to be gathered from all city enterprises. The trouble, however, was that throughout the city, including the State Environmental Protection Committee itself, no entity had reliable means of controlling emissions. The only such means exist and are being applied by the chemical enterprise. Such means here are not being simply applied but also over the past three years, they have contributed more to reducing harmful emissions than during the 30 preceding years of the existence of the chemical plant. A major program for the treatment of the emissions has been planned and is being implemented. In this area the Volgodonsk chemists were recognized as the best in their sector. However, the local department of the State Environmental Protection Committee did not study all such details but acted simply: since the chemical workers were the only ones in the city with data on industrial emissions it means that they, the chemical workers, should be hit upon. Furthermore, such data were constantly being presented as worsening and the local newspaper described them as though another Chernobyl was in the making. This had its effect. Meetings and picketing at the gates of the city soviet began in the city. When they failed to close down the plant through direct efforts, the efforts were concentrated on closing the plant by making it pay fines in the millions of rubles.

But is this the case in Volgodonsk alone?

Speaking on Central Television recently, one of the deputies of a local soviet said that he opposes the building in his city not of a chemical plant or a nuclear power plant but of a shoe factory! He was so firmly against it that he was ready to wear sandals! This people's representative did not even ask us whether we were ready to follow his example.

In criticizing the Greens for the senselessness of many of their demands, recently LITGAZETA pointed out that they should become "pinkish." To put it mildly, let us say that they should ripen. Had they known, had they taken into consideration, that the emissions of an average-sized thermoelectric power plant or of the city automotive transportation system are much more dangerous than the production, let us say, of protein-vitamin concentrates (BVK), public opinion around them, supported by the deputies and the press, might be different.

Despite glasnost, hiding behind all this is the problem of a stupefying lack of information on the part of the population and the failure to inform it of simple and even most basic concepts. This results in even more stupefying consequences, for today's democratic "street" lack of competence is no better but worse than concealed incompetence.

Fortunately, the shoots of a new way of thinking and acting on the part of social groups and the renovated soviets are already visible. In Moscow, for example, this can be seen in one of the most "polluted" rayons—Proletarskiy. Here, initially the Greens demanded the closing down of a number of enterprises. However, sober minds were found, headed by I.S. Lukin, party raykom first secretary, who were able to explain and prove to the people the groundlessness of such demands and, above all, to lead that same public to engage in constructive rather than destructive environmental protection activities.

Unfortunately, for the time being such examples are few. Had there been more, naturally, our story about them would have been longer.

#### **Leader of 'Noosfera' Organization Explains Group's Goals**

*91WN0036C Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 90  
2nd edition p 2*

[Interview with Oleg Khabarov, head of the "Noosfera" Intersectoral Engineering-Creative Application Association, conducted by Yu. Shabanov: "The Knights of the Green Cross"]

[Text] His name is known not only on the ground but also in the skies. Oleg Khabarov, head of the "Noosfera" Intersectoral Engineering-Creative Application Association, is patching, with his colleagues, as has been frequently described in the press, ozone tears. Back on firm grounds, he writes poetry in praise of the Orthodox Church. His collection of poems entitled: "Resurrection," which he wrote and published jointly with the Moscow Patriarchate, shows his ache for our insulted spirituality and is a prayer for the moral cleansing of man.

Who is Oleg Khabarov? A poet and an engineer and author of about 100 patents and authorship certificates dealing with ecology, and a Christian in the true meaning of the term. His thoughts are about eternity and the

permanent values of man and his actions deal with earthly concerns. It is no accident that ecology has become one of his main concerns. He considers the harmony between nature and the animate world inhabiting it as the path to spirituality. He not simply is aware of but tries to create such a harmony. His new idea has the same purpose. The "Noosfera" Association became the organizer of the Ecological International and drafted the program and bylaws of this international association.

[Shabanov] Unless I am wrong, Oleg Sergeyevich, your intention is to create something like an international alliance between the green cross and the crescent. But does this make any sense, considering that in virtually every country and, in our country also in each rayon, there is a "Green" movement and that ecological problems vary from one area to another?

[Khabarov] Yes, the problems may be different. I am referring to specific problems. However, there also are common, global problems which cannot be resolved without unified action. In this case we must display a universal human will. I am speaking of ecological catastrophes such as the thinning of the ozone layer and the pollution of the air and water basins. Currently, according to scientific studies, the ozone layer over our planet has lost four percent of its thickness. According to projections made by foreign scientists, 50 years from now, given the same pace of development of machine technology, it will lose 20 percent. This will mark the beginning of the death of mankind, growing like an avalanche.

Actually, one of the most terrible enemies of the ozone layer are the chlorofluorocarbons, i.e., freons, which are being produced in huge quantities in various countries. The demand addressed to the industrialists to stop the production of freons and to find substitutes for them were included in the Montreal Protocol and the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer. It is on this matter that the people of goodwill and all "Green" movements must unite in order to stop the ecological suicide which, alas, is being committed by our superindustrialized world.

[Shabanov] To the best of my knowledge, this year the creation of an international service for ecological mutual aid was announced at a constituent congress in Geneva. Now we have yet another one....

[Khabarov] In Geneva it was a question of creating such a service on a governmental level, on an intergovernmental level. We are creating it on a nongovernmental basis, i.e., on a public basis. This will be a broader movement and, to a certain extent, an alternative movement. In short, it will be something like a worldwide people's ecological parliament. Our draft program stipulates that "the Ecological International is a planetary movement of mankind, aimed at the prevention of a global ecological crisis." It will be an alliance of the progressive forces in the civilized world, which are

prepared to participate in practical terms in the efforts to save life on earth from the ecological crisis.

[Shabanov] You mention practical actions by the Ecological International. How do you see them?

[Khabarov] Above all, through the unification of the residents of our planet for purposes of social action. This may influence governments and industrialists to end the use of polluting technologies and the production of harmful substances which are polluting the water and the air, and thus destroying the green lungs of the earth and its animal world.

We are totally fed up with the promises made by technocrats and politicians to develop wasteless technologies and closed production cycles. To begin with, at best such promises turn into halfway measures; second, with an uncontrolled machine civilization, any, even the most advanced technology, creates a threat. For that reason, the end objective of our activities is a conversion from uncontrolled-machine to a controlled biotechnological type of development of civilization.

[Shabanov] When will this take place, Oleg Sergeyevich? Today, specifically, what could your association do to prevent the sliding toward an ecological catastrophe?

[Khabarov] This could include international meetings, marches, and acts of civil disobedience or anything which could influence those who remain indifferent to the suffering caused to nature....

[Shabanov] Indeed, your statements are depressing. The people are holding meetings but most remain indifferent. Furthermore, they have become fed up with militant dilettantes who control some "Green" meetings. Without analyzing the essence of the problem, they claim one thing: close down and not build projects in our country. Occasionally, self-seeking people rise on the crest of such a wave to attain political heights as well.

Here is an example. A garbage burning plant functions in Biryulevo, on the edge of Moscow. It uses imported equipment. This is the cleanest enterprise in the rayon. However, even there, there are emissions not because of the imperfect technology but because such technology is being violated. For example, the garbage must be sorted before burning yet it is burned without it, following the Russian "deep thought" that this will be good enough.

On the eve of elections for the local soviets, some candidates called for closing down the plant and thus score points.

[Khabarov] I too am against militant amateurs. One should promote not the closing down of the plant but the efficient observance of technologies and use of public control. It is precisely as such—as sensible and lacking group egotism—that I conceive of international social ecological actions and, naturally, this applies to global problems as well. For example, a global reserve of fresh water could be created by preserving the purity of Lake Baykal.

And is the elimination of nuclear weapons and, in general, the total conversion of the military-industrial complex in all countries not the most important task?

One of the aspects of our joint activities is the ecological aid to be given to areas in difficulty, which are on the brink of ecological catastrophe, and to countries which are by themselves unable to cope with this trouble.

[Shabanov] How?

[Khabarov] By supplying them with clean technological systems, providing independent ecological expert evaluations, and, finally, finances. We are planning the establishment of international foundations which would finance long-term international aid programs. The activities of the Ecological International will be quite varied but, as a whole, aimed at the preservation of the environment and the prevention of sliding toward the ecological precipice to which the train of contemporary civilization is taking us. Our gates will be open to anyone who shares the ideas of the "Green" movement, regardless of nationality, religious beliefs, social status, and outlook.

In our country we have the support of the Soviet authorities, church leaders, and many newly-established public movements and parties. We are meeting with understanding abroad as well. Our immediate task is to hold a consultative roundtable with the public of Union republics and like-minded people abroad. By the end of the year we intend to convene an international constituent congress of the Ecological International, at which we shall definitely come out with a program, bylaws, and plans which were published in the Greenpeace Bulletin, and with a structural organization. I hope that our movement will have a great future and that the green cross on our flag will have a mission just as noble as the Red Cross has on earth, i.e., the mission of ecological charity.

### Measures for Protection From Effects of Chernobyl

91UN0012A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
9 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers' Information Sector: "Program of Further Actions"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has taken a decision on organizing the implementation of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet's decree "On Urgent Measures to Protect Ukraine's Citizens from the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster," and the implementation of measures provided for 1990-1992 by the corresponding State Union-Republic Program.

This document encompasses a wide complex of practical questions in the resolution of which ministries, departments, specialized organizations and research institutions are enlisted. Attention is focused primarily on accomplishing tasks involved in the resettlement in 1991

of people from the areas of Zhitomir, Kiev, Rovno and Chernigov oblasts that are in the zone of radiation contamination and in which, according to scientists' findings, safe habitation cannot be guaranteed. A list of communities in environmentally sound regions of the same oblasts to which the accident victims will move has already been drawn up. Work to clarify the general environmental condition is presently being carried out in them. Residential buildings with outbuildings, utilities and modern conveniences, and social, cultural, municipal- and everyday- service, trade and production facilities will be built in them for the resettled people. In short, all the necessary conditions will be created for normal living and work, for which nearly 1.9 billion rubles is being allocated.

Incidentally, those who wish will be able to resettle in other regions of the republic, as well. In such cases the Zhitomir, Kiev, Rovno and Chernigov oblast ispolkoms are supposed to transfer to the oblast ispolkoms of the oblasts receiving the resettled persons, in amounts determined by mutual agreement, centrally allocated capital investments for the construction of housing and social and everyday-service facilities.

The oblast ispolkoms sending builders to build the facilities determined by the government decision are supposed to provide for the organization of their meals, trade and everyday services and medical care, and for the safeguarding of public order.

The Ukrainian SSR State Committee on the Economy, the Ukrainian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Trade, and the Ukrainian Union of Consumers' Cooperatives are given the duty of determining the size of state orders for the delivery of meat and dairy products to all-union and republic stocks in 1991-1992 by Zhitomir, Kiev, Rovno and Chernigov oblasts, taking into account the amounts necessary for supplying the population living in the controlled zone according to rational consumption norms.

The Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Protection of the Population from the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health are given the task of drawing up next year, relying on the efforts of their departmental research institutions, together with the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences' All-Union Research Center of Radiation Medicine and other research institutions, rational norms and recommendations for the population's use of absorbents and antiradiation protectors in food products, and the Ukrainian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee, Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Trade, and Ukrainian Union of Consumers' Cooperatives are given the task of providing for the production of these items.

It is instructed that methods be developed for conducting agricultural production and the timber industry in accordance with the requirements of radiation safety, and that a detailed study of the radiation situation on the



territory that has an elevated level of contamination be completed by the end of 1991.

Measures are being developed to promote the development of effective international cooperation and the use of international assistance in the republic in dealing with the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

Importance is accorded to the preparation of a draft republic conception of safe human habitation within territories contaminated by radiation as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station. It should include, in addition to the purely medical aspects, the socioeconomic and psychological aspects of the population's activities within such territories.

The government decision also provides for the drafting of a number of documents connected with implementation of the program for protection of the republic's population from the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. They include draft laws on the status of the zone of economic disaster and the status of citizens who have suffered as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, and on the storage, use and burial of radioactive substances and waste formed in carrying out deactivation and other work within the republic's territory.

Proposals are being prepared on procedures for changing over to international norms for permissible radioactive contamination of all food products and agricultural raw materials. They will specify the basic stages of that changeover, the sources for the supplying of such products and raw materials to regions contaminated by radiation, and methods for monitoring their quality. Liability will be established for officials and citizens for the production and sale of radioactively contaminated foodstuffs and other products.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has appealed to the republic's labor collectives to do everything within their power to protect people living in radiation-contaminated territories and suffering from the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

#### **Pros, Cons of Resettlement From Radiation Contaminated Area**

91UN0012B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
9 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by V. Mazanyy: "Resettlement: Pros and Cons"]

[Text] Rovno Oblast—Residents of the villages of the Velikoozeryanskiy Rural Soviet in Dubrovitskiy Rayon, the territory of which was subjected to radioactive contamination following the Chernobyl disaster, are changing their places of residence. The resettled persons will be received on the Kolkhoz imeni I. Franko and the Kommunist Kolkhoz in Mlinovski Rayon, where a total of 700 individual houses will be built. The designing of homesteads and social and cultural facilities is already being completed.

Only four villages in Rovno Oblast will be subject to resettlement. It has been planned that farms in the southern region, where the number of able-bodied persons has been declining every year, will be replenished with human resources in this manner.

"However, a survey has shown that only about 250 families are agreeing to leave their home areas," says V.Ya. Ivanovskiy, chairman of the Dubrovitskiy Rayispolkom. "We are explaining to people that it is necessary to move, for the sake of their health. We have territories where the concentration of contamination is even higher, but the people in Velikiye Oзера and their neighbors live amid radioactively dangerous forests. And they live, as we know, off those forests' bounty. There are no natural pastures there, and for that reason their cattle graze on forest meadows, where there is an invisible danger. Of course, better conditions than the ones in which the resettled people presently live await them. Delegations from the villages of Velikiye Oзера, Shakhi, Rezki and Velikiy Cheremel visited Mlinovski Rayon and were satisfied with what they saw there. The forest dwellers will receive plots of land there no smaller than those they have had until now, and they are guaranteed the possibility of living in close proximity to one another, as they did previously. Even their requests to be located close to their present neighbors will be satisfied.

Nonetheless, not everyone is agreeing to move. From every indication, it is evident that the local Meliorator Sovkhoz will continue to operate and engage in the production of livestock feed made of mixed grasses. Liming and other deactivation measures are presently being carried out on its fields, and it will continue to have two schools—a secondary school and a boarding school. In the next few days a 12-bed hospital will be completed; a cow barn is being built on the farm's central homestead, and the network of paved roads is being expanded.

Who knows if the example of the first resettled people will bring others for whom houses have been designated. However, if they lose time, their place may be taken by others. 2,500 citizens have submitted applications for resettlement from the stricken zone in six rayons of Rovno Oblast.

But nonetheless, the majority do not want to leave the land of their fathers. For them, it would seem to be necessary to do everything that the government has already promised. However, as noted at the most recent session of the oblast soviet, a good many organizations and officials personally are guilty of providing inadequate assistance to their suffering countrymen. The radical program of priority measures to deal with the accident's consequences that has been adopted, which is geared to the use of the oblast's internal forces and capabilities, should step up the undertaking, especially in the construction of housing and provision of "clean" foodstuffs, materials, machinery, equipment and medicines.



### Directed Nuclear Explosion Used in 1971 River Diversion Experiment

91WN0094A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 11 Nov 90 p 4

[Article by N. Fedoseyev, people's deputy of the oblast soviet, Cherdynskiy Rayon: "The Adventure of the Century: It Has Left a Terrible Mark on Perm Soil..."]

[Text] From here, up in the sky, out of a helicopter window, that which is invisible on the ground immediately grabs the eye: the geometric regularity of the perimeter of a rectangular lake. What, if anything, might seem unusual about this? It's just that such rigidly straight lines are atypical of nature.

"I can see people in the distant future busting their heads trying to explain this one " one of the members of our expedition said.

"In the distant future?" I thought, "hardly." It will soon be 20 years that thousands of local inhabitants, eyewitnesses to the advent of this manmade "miracle of nature," have been busting their heads about this. And they still can't come up with answers to questions that may affect their health, and even life itself.

Very little is still known about what happened here, in northern Perm Oblast, in the forests of Cherdynskiy Rayon, in early spring 1971. The oldtimers recall a certain day when mighty equipment of unprecedented quantity appeared in this region, forgotten by God and by the powers above. It was followed by the arrival of a large detachment of serious-minded people who didn't talk much. So began the attack on the taiga. In no time at all, a track was cut for caravans of vehicles hauling piping and some sort of equipment through the night. Where they were taking all of this, and why, was never communicated to the rayon's inhabitants. And anyone who attempted to follow the track was met by guards in military uniform.

Then one day the dozing taiga shuddered in response to an explosion of gigantic force. After it, a cloud appeared over the forest and drifted downwind, toward the northeast. A few hours later, inhabitants of nearby villages noticed some sort of strange light-reflecting particles on the snow. An announcement was made throughout the rayon not to use melted snow water.

Soon after this, the tight-lipped strangers went back to where they came from together with their mighty machines. And the only reminders of all of this strange story are the road laid over the taiga and marshes, and the stories told by hunters about a lake a little less than a kilometer long, with rectangular and completely barren, lifeless shores, that appeared miraculously from nowhere among the sleepy pines. There was also the troubling rumor, transmitted from mouth to mouth, that the lake had been created by a nuclear burst, and that the entire north of Perm Oblast was contaminated by radiation.

But this version seemed rather absurd.

"I remember aggressively fighting these 'gossipers'," said T. Kroshennikova, a teacher who used to work then in one of the forest villages. "I argued that if explosions dangerous to people were set off anywhere, it would never be in our Soviet state."

The official powers of the rayon and oblast rejected this version as well. It was refuted by the local press. Those who were especially curious and insistent were told that the operation, code-named "Canal," was totally harmless to the environment and to human health. Moreover it was itself directed at rectifying certain mistakes of nature, at solving "particular ecological problems."

A little less than 20 years, including five years of perestroika, had to go by before people finally learned the entire truth.

This recently arrived expedition to this lake in the taiga, contains representatives of the public of Cherdynskiy Rayon, scientific workers from the All-Union Promtekhnologiya Institute and, what is especially important, participants of that earlier secret project.

The sensation was that we were transported from real life into Tarkovskiy's motion picture "Stalker." Picturesque meadows suddenly give way to the skeletons of some sort of machines. Old barracks with black sockets where windows used to be stare malevolently out through the young regrowth of forest trees. Pieces of cable and lengths of pipe are scattered around beneath one's feet. And all of this is over a huge territory. I tried to estimate how many millions of rubles this "experiment" cost our national economy. We can apparently no longer get an exact answer to this question. Whatever the case, for the moment we can only make guesses based on some figures offered by V. Matyushkov, an engineer who participated in the preparations for this burst. Figures like this: The "Taiga" experiment was supported by over 800 specialists from different institutes in the country!

Such, then, were the kind of grandiose forces and resources focused on just one of 200 projects that fell within the attention span of the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. The fact is that the manmade miracle lake in Cherdynskiy Rayon was to become one link in the "Canal" system, which was to divert waters of the northern rivers into the Caspian.

"The canal was to be built by means of controlled nuclear bursts," explained V. Matyushkov. "One such burst was set off here, near Cherdyn."

Three seven-kiloton charges were placed in special shafts and set off simultaneously. The ground itself protected surrounding nature and people from the most deleterious consequences of the "experiment." The most dangerous decay products—cesium-137, strontium-90 and cobalt-60—remained in the subsoil (at least that's what specialists who traveled with us feel). However, some toxic substances were released with the gas and dust cloud that erupted outward and was scattered by the

wind. In general, the half-life of most radioactive substances is short—just a few hours. But in what way did they manage to affect the surrounding natural environment in these hours?

Questions, questions.... It is of course a very difficult thing to find answers to them today, a couple of decades after the fact. Nonetheless, specialists feel certain that they will be able to find answers to most of them. It was with this purpose that an extensive research program has been planned. Participants of the expedition are taking water samples from neighboring streams and marshes, they are sampling the soil and atmospheric moisture, they are cutting out chunks of tree bark, and they are collecting moss, mushrooms and grasses from different areas of the "zone" for this purpose. And in the meantime specialists of a radiation safety laboratory are taking measurements of the gamma-radiation level.

A dosimeter reveals a natural radiation background at our camp—around five microrentgens per hour. But as we come closer to the lake the radiation level begins to rise swiftly: 20, 40, 60, 130 microrentgens per hour. In one place the instrument reads 1,400 units. But what were the readings, let us say, 10 or 15 years ago, when the shores of the lake had not yet been covered by grass and moss, which absorb radioactive particles and create a kind of living protective shield?

"It was not safe, of course," V. Akhundov, the expedition's scientific leader hesitantly explained. "But in regard to the current radioactive situation, I can say this. There is no threat here to the casual passerby. But remaining here for a long time is not recommended."

After our expedition finished its work we set off to plant posts bearing signs reading "Radioactivity. Hazardous to Health." Several square kilometers of taiga were encircled by these forbidding warning signs.

That's how the authors of this grandiose land improvement adventure "improved" nature in Cherdynskiy Rayon. The one terrifying thought is what this entire undertaking might have cost, had it not been stopped in time, had all of the planned bursts been set off. What sort of monstrous radioactive drainage channel might have been created!

### **RSFSR Plan To Improve Magnitogorsk Environment Questioned**

91WN0088A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian,  
9 Nov 90 Union Edition p 1

[Article by A. Yudin: "The Perfidy of the Residual Principle"]

[Text] Under the rubric: Fact and Commentary.

**The RSFSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree: "On Measures for Bringing the Ecological Conditions and Development of the Social Sphere in Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk Oblast to a Healthy State."**

City authorities are satisfied: the intensive "shuttle operations" on the capital's registers, including numerous pardons and petitions of deputies has at last been crowned with success. Now, by being a city-sufferer, the "pride of the first 50 years" has the opportunity to work for itself beginning next year, if the decree is to be believed.

It is intended that seven percent of the production of the city's enterprises and ten percent of their foreign currency reserves may be directed for development of the municipal economy and bringing ecological and social conditions to a healthy state. The city executive committee is granted the right for all purposes to release enterprises, associations, and organizations, irrespective of their departmental subordination and form of ownership, from payments in the budget the sum of income which is received from bartered transactions. But they raised questions: whether the city executive committee will be able to use to full measure the opportunities which have opened up; whether the union ministries will "want" to submit to the demands of the republican government; whether the enterprises themselves will start to expend seven percent on their needs on the sly.

Not idle questions. For example, an absolutely concrete measure is provided for, it would seem, by the decree: the apportionment of capital investments, guaranteed increases in output of the city's construction industry by 20-30 million rubles annually. But how much benefit will there be from this just for the social sphere? You see, if the "gift" of the Council of Ministers of Russia passes to the "Magnitostroy" association, which, incidentally, would not decline the doubling or tripling of financial injections, it is completely possible that this "gift" without a balance would be consumed by industrial construction. And this is the chronic illness of Magnita, from which more than one program of social development withered away.

Here is a fact for reflection: 162 of 179 million rubles of the yearly volume of the construction assembly works carried out by all construction organizations in the city is on the part of the "Magnitostroy" association. But the strength of the super-monopolist sucks out another giant from year to year - the metallurgical industrial complex, and such figures, for example, speak eloquently on the scale of its overcharging: only on building the first line of oxygen-converting shot and the rolling-mill "2000" in the current five-years was planned to assimilate more than one billion rubles of capital investment. Including 550 million rubles - for construction-assembly works. And this is only the beginning.

Not only the metallurgical industrial complex but also the other "whales" of the city (together they produce 10 percent of the metal and a quarter of all articles made of it in the country) for half a century have developed without fundamental modernization and reconstruction. Consequently, it will have to willy nilly be very busy and very seriously - it fills the coming market with its rigid "rules of the game." You see, the material well-being of

the residents of Magnitogorsk will directly depend on the industrial muscles of the "capital of ferrous metal."

And think: are not they flying off again from the program of the source of water consumption, roads, communal systems, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, lodging, nature protection objectives? It is shameful to say: the city which gives more than a billion rubles yearly is becoming a "naked king," it seems, incapable of solving urgent social problems.

Signed, A. Yudin, Magnitogorsk.

#### North Ossetian Environmental Problems, Government Inattention Compared

91WN0094B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 43,  
Oct 90 p 15

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Tina Dzakyeva: "Yellow Clouds Over Ossetia: What Policies Unmindful of Ecology Will Lead To"]

[Text] "The only difference between Gorbachev and Yeltsin is that Gorbachev wants to slaughter the ram in four years, while Yeltsin wants to do it in one. Both are urging us toward capitalism, but we will not allow our kolkhozes to be broken up, and our state property to be destroyed!"

I listen—not with fury but only in amazement. "Our kolkhozes" contain farm animals sick with tuberculosis, brucellosis and even graver diseases. Instead of industrial products, our enterprises sometimes put out nothing but toxic wastes. Production is nonexistent, while wastes are piling up. Poisons—one more terrible than the next.

But I go on listening. I want to understand the psychology of these people. As a person, I even like the speaker. Marat Kochiyev is a philosopher, the chairman of the coordinating council of the Ossetian "Tokh," or "Struggle," society. He is sincere, he is not coarse, he is gentle and democratic. The main item on the meeting's agenda is preparation for a demonstration to be conducted on 7 November 1990. The main problem is the pennant. A huge red pennant with portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin stitched on. And above them, the motto starting "Proletariat...." Where is such a thing to be obtained nowadays? Probably even in the museums the fabrics have rotted.

Yes, it can be said that politics are a good thing. But there is one other matter that is gnawing on me: Why all of this gloom? Or could it be that the light hits the mountains later? At the time that this conference was under way, a terrifying piece of news was reported: Mozdokskiy Rayon, Ossetia's best agricultural rayon, had met its ecological demise.

No. Ossetia is not on the unfortunate list of regions experiencing special ecological danger. Like Semipalatinsk for example. Not yet. However, these informal groups, representing the intelligentsia and particularly

agricultural institutions, should be aware that the image of Ossetia to which we had become accustomed no longer exists.

I want to say this not only to these but also to the other 26 informal organizations that have formed here: Don't pursue false trails. Don't be angry at each other because some of you stand on a democratic platform or have abandoned the party altogether, while others diligently stitch portraits of Stalin. There are criteria and goals higher than all of this. Take a look around. Ossetia has lost those valuable things with which it is identified even today by inertia: clean, health-restoring air, the Terek, the road to Tseyskoye Gorge, health-reviving springs, Alagir apples, Unal pears, Mozdok tomatoes. These aren't just foods, but symbols of an entire culture, a national treasure.

All nature in Ossetia used to be a national treasure. This is why our ancestors raised homage to nature to the level of a sacred ritual. They did not know terms like "Preserve" or "Endangered Species List"; instead, they intuitively felt everything that these words stand for today. Their approach was simple: They declared natural phenomena to be sacred, and they protected them. Would they possibly ever have ringed an ancient Ossetian sylvan place of prayer—Khetaga grove—with toxic chemicals, like today's kolkhozes have done? It would never have come into their minds to blow up mountains in order to obtain chunks of stone from them. The builders of that tunnel through Tseyskoye Gorge would have been perceived by our ancestors as vandals, worse than the Huns that invaded them some time ago.

Nature in Ossetia is a precious setting that can be touched only with the hands. Certainly no one cuts diamonds with a sledgehammer. But in the last decade everything that used to be referred to as nature in Ossetia has been passed through the mortar. Ground and crushed, Ossetia is disintegrating into pieces, and its value is diminishing. In other words it is self-destructing. Clean mountain air is no more. And what about radiation? The level of its classification here is absolute, and it is ranked among the highest state secrets. RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputy V. Kuznetsov was forced by the insistence of local inhabitants to ask the leadership of the epidemiological station to publish the radiation level in the vicinity of the city dump. He is still waiting for an answer!

People are dying of cancer, tuberculosis and nephritis. But no one is going to say that they are dying of methodical, constant poisoning. Quite the reverse! The danger is being stubbornly understated. I read in one election program of a city soviet deputy that the city is not on the list of highly polluted cities. But this is untrue! Just in Vladikavkaz alone, industrial enterprises dumped 300,000 tons of toxic substances. A ton per person!

During my stay in Vladikavkaz, people suddenly began complaining to each other that they weren't feeling well.



The appearance was that they had all been subjected to the same incomprehensible effect at once. And so they had been! A tank containing 60 tons of nitric acid at the Elektrotsink Plant sprang a leak. The tank was dragged out to an open area, and all of the acid spilled out. Yellow toxic clouds were what poisoned the people and made them feel ill. What kind of statistical report did this acid spill get into? None. "This was nothing unusual, it was a commonplace production situation," was what the plant director was reported to have said.

The book "Releases of Toxic Substances Into the Atmosphere"—a unique witness to the quality of our way of life, published in 700 copies—states that 91 percent of the waste treatment facilities of the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy in Ossetia are operating. How does this go down? Workers of that same Elektrotsink and miners in Sadon and Mizur can only laugh bitterly. Ask the inhabitants of the settlement of Unal, the homeland of the world-famous pears, where the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy built a tailings pond for its mines—right in the middle of the pear orchards: Can you imagine how they're doing now?

But can it be that only the former Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy is guilty of possessing inoperable facilities and of wanton dumping of toxic wastes? What about the Ministry of Electronics Industry, which developed an entire sector here? What about the Ministry of Construction? What about the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry? What about the Agroindustrial Committee? And finally, what about the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services?

Ask the Terek. The best part of it flows through Ossetia. Its waters, which were themselves a source of healing to our ancestors, can no longer be used to irrigate land without danger. The Terek has become a sump for industrial wastes and sewage.

But things aren't any easier for the other rivers either. The Ardon, the Uruk, the Chikolinka. Every river and spring has its own housing and municipal services administration and its own dairy farm that calmly go on lavishing poisons upon the water, including water with healing properties. The Kambileyevka River has died out completely: Its waters continue to flow, but they are lifeless—they have been killed by mercury, cadmium, arsenic and other poisons. But in these parts, the strictest secrecy is maintained over listing the poisons. Because, it is said, otherwise their list could be used to find out what sort of products are manufactured by the nearby plants. Now there's resourcefulness for you! Now there's an example of an entire people duped by the bureaucracy!

And what about underground water? Nature left man a last chance in it. Everything is not yet lost if clean underground water is still available.

But what if it isn't?

Mozdok! This is a hard subject to talk about. It is even difficult to put in words the terrible tragedy that

occurred here. Remember King Midas, who asked that one wish be granted as a reward for a certain service he performed for the All-Mighty—the ability to turn anything that he touched into gold? How the story ended, we all know: The All-Mighty removed the spell, and Midas got everything back, water, bread, grapes....

Whatever a Mozdok inhabitant touches, everything smells of kerosene. Water, tomatoes, bread. The underground water is tainted with kerosene: To put it simply, a kerosene lake has formed beneath the city! People are threatened by the most terrible hydrocarbons, including benzopyrene, a terrible carcinogen. And its concentration exceeds permissible limits by a thousand times. But who can the inhabitants of Mozdok turn to? To the military department, the direct culprit of the disaster? One thing is certain: From this day forward, Mozdok will be supplied with trucked-in water.

Ossetia is dying physically, while over it, almost as if over a corpse, people talk and argue about other things. The population has divided itself into Stalinists and a small group of opponents of Stalinism. Could it be that they do not understand how bad things really are? Or could it be that Stalinism is being introduced into their life in order to deliberately conceal the true misfortune?

One prominent ecologist told me: "If you want to get an evaluation of the ecological situation of a certain locale, find out first what the figures for the mental state of children are." I went to Minister of Health German Aleksandrovich Tchiyevev to find this out.

"Unfortunately there is nothing that I can say to prove you right." He uttered that blasphemous phrase: "Everything here is normal."

And then he went on with mortality data, which were "normal, average for the RSFSR." Allergies were the only diseases he admitted to. I leave it to the minister's conscience as to the truthfulness of his responses: There are studies by scientists in Ossetia that refute them. In a situation supercharged by departmental secrets, people are writhing from the inconveniences. They know that something happened to their habitat, but they are unable to obtain the figures confirming it. They grumble that mortality figures are classified in the stage where they are transformed into statistics.

But there is one thing that cannot be concealed: Schools for mentally retarded children are being opened everywhere. A second has already been opened in Mozdok. "Caucasian Ossetians are the last offspring of the Scythians" was what the French scientist Dyumezil [transliteration] recently wrote once again. And he referred to the Scythians as being in that zone of silence "which wedges itself between Germanic peoples to the north and Italic and Grecian people to the south." Does this mean, then, that the Ossetians are the key to this zone of silence? And with every new school for the mentally retarded, this key will rust more and more. The people are dying out genetically.

Ossetia is located in an extreme zone. In the 1970s I came across a certain piece of paper from the republic epidemiological station. An ordinary table. With figures indicating the quantity of zinc in samples from children's palms, toys, and the window sills of child care center rooms frequented by children. The child care center in Elektrotsink's backyard. The plant workers used to bring their children here from different regions of the city. The parents swallowed lead in the shops, while the children did so in the child care center. Here are the figures: 0.001 mg on window glass, 0.005 mg on the palms of the children, 0.0059 mg on toys and so on. I was loath to find out what the maximum permissible concentration was—0.007 mg. This is barbaric—to force people, and all the more so tiny children, to swallow lead.

Those children are now our youth. I would want to ask each of those tiny lead-eaters how they feel today, now that they've grown up. Let me know. Because a children's day care center continues to operate even today at Elektrotsink behind that same fence.

The first secretary of the oblast party committee appeared on television not that long ago. Did he make any mention of any of the problems uppermost in the people's minds? No, he has other problems. "There is no task more important today than saving the party." The same old grating line. What a failure to understand the situation! Political parties, "the socialist choice," "a communist orientation" and all the rest of it are nothing if nature perishes, and entire nations together with it. And if the society is not placed in the care of specialists who have a complete understanding of the essence of physical processes, of citizens who deeply feel for the pain of nature and the people, if an abrupt, mighty change is not made in the system of priorities in favor of man and nature, the final degradation of Ossetia will be inevitable.

### Central Asian Republics Work To Coordinate Environmental Efforts

91WN0088B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA  
in Russian, 21 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by Ye. Yefimov: "Nature: A Common Pain, Concern, Hope"]

[Text] This idea ran through a meeting of parliamentarians of the republics of central Asia and Kazakhstan.

People's deputies who had assembled in Tashkent were united in the opinion that today a consolidation of forces is required of us not only in economics and politics, but also in solving ecological problems. A meeting of leaders of committees (commissions) on ecology, formed by the highest legislative organs of neighboring republics, was dedicated to the definition of concrete directions and ways of solving these problems.

Here it is necessary to speak about the foundation which revealed the opportunity for similar meetings and which

guaranteed their fruitfulness. This agreement on economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation was concluded by the leaders of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

We remind you that the document which was adopted this summer in Alma-Ata spoke of a broad utilization of the great potential of opportunities of neighboring republics, proceeding from traditional, political, economic, and spiritual connections, from the community of territorial and natural conditions.

You see, our neighborhood itself defines concrete goals of cooperation in this sphere. Is it really possible to cut by boundaries the intimacy and similarity of our lands, which drink from one and the same rivers? We have both common joys and sorrows. Thus, the whole region - from the Caspian to Pamir - experienced the catastrophe which overtook the Aral Sea.

But that closeness also defines the principles of cooperation. We are neighbors. And neighbors, when it is necessary to build a house or to deflect sorrow from it, go out to the KHASHAR together. And that KHASHAR - nature protection - must go on day after day across the spaces from the Caspian to Pamir.

We emphasize: the parliamentarians sent to the Tashkent meeting genuine nature experts, who were not simply familiar with the peculiarities of this wide area but were also prepared to share concrete ideas, designs and plans. This imparted a constructive character to the discussion and allowed a common position to be worked out.

It is reflected in the resolution which could have been called the declaration of sovereign states on nature in contiguous territories. Here are its main clauses:

- the peoples who live on a given territory manage the natural resources; it is necessary to work up and implement a unified policy of preservation, reproduction, and rational utilization of natural resources; the republics guarantee prevention of pollution of the air basin and drains, which enter neighboring republics.

These three points reflect reciprocal cooperation and reciprocal responsibility. Thus the following lines of the resolution provide for the creation of an inter-republic commission, authorized to conduct ecological examinations of works of the people's economy which are polluting the water environment and air basins in neighboring zones.

A similar examination may be practiced also at the planning stage - only after a joint agreement is it possible to undertake the construction of works, appearances or activities which may be felt by the adjacent territories of neighboring republics.

Interparliamentary meetings laid the foundation for the basis of cooperation which will be developed, perfected, and find effectiveness. But already in the first document,

which was adopted by the colleagues, concrete ways of solving urgent problems were outlined. Recommended:

- to create a single ecological-information system (monitoring) from the information-normative, thematic, ecological maps; to work out territorial comprehensive plans for environmental protection across contiguous territories of the region and a program for putting into operation a unified economic mechanism for resource utilization; to prepare a program of reducing the use of chemical weed killers and pesticides with a complete stop to their use in the people's economy by 1995; to define a complex program of ecological training, education, and propaganda of ecological learning.

For the organs created, the elaboration of the principles of methodology of normative documents and coordination of activities in the interests of scientific-technical progress remain in the opinion of the parliamentarians.

The meeting's participants defined their position in relation to a series of concrete situations, which riveted the attention of all countries of the world. The first of them is on the fate of the Aral sea: "We fully share the resolution of the international symposium on the preservation of the Aral Sea and on bringing to a healthy state the ecological situation in its basin." Here also is the opinion on the necessity to preserve the Balkhash, Issyk-kul and other internal reservoirs.

Naturally, it must begin with the rational utilization of water resources and the saving of water. But this economy alone is not enough. The participants of the meeting believe it is necessary to fill water resources of the region. And again the problem rises of the drive of part of river waters, which may be shared with Central Asia and Kazakhstan Siberia.

Agreed: for such raising of the question today, great courage is demanded - you see, how many opinions were expressed on this...And this position should be given proper attention and understanding.

In any case, no one was refused a part in the dialogue. They invited to the dialogue and the meeting participants of interparliamentary groups on ecology - they become regulars.

...The parliamentarians of the Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR, Kirgiz SSR, Tadzhik SSR signed a resolution; agreement in principle with this document was expressed by parliamentarians of the Turkmen SSR who participated at this time in other measures. Thus, a beginning to an effective cooperation of five neighboring republics was agreed to in the sphere of ecology.

Signed: Ye. Yefimov, UzTAG observer.

## Chemical Weapons Test Site in Kazakh SSR Subject of Study

91US0023B Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh  
15 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by Isatay Balmaghambetov, LENINSHIL ZHAS reporter: "Why Do the Sand Dunes Weep: Can We Discover the Secrets to the Test Area?"]

[Excerpts] When we had travelled for two weeks, oppressed by the sun, amidst the doubled sands, we came upon another hitherto unexpressed secret: the reason why the sand dunes weep. Thus, just as we were wearing out our voices speaking of "Nevada-Semipalatinsk," just as we were shouting "we refuse to take it any more," it turns out that a testing area spreads out without constraint in the entire Atyraw Area. That "the poor Naryn and the Tasysoyghan have been a military testing center for 40 years" is something which we knew but could not, up until the present day, speak about.

Here is our division called Oytang of the Tasysoyghan sands. When we see the fragments of rockets, heaped up like mountains beside herdsman houses, in the vicinity of drinking water wells, lying uselessly expended in the pastures, we express our complete amazement and say, "Incredible. This place looks just like a regular battlefield."

The total surface area of our Qyzylqogha rayon is 2,300,000 hectares. At present 900,000 hectares of this is taken up by the testing area. All the fertile pasture, the meadows have been destroyed completely. There are explosions twice a week. We witness the destruction which goes on then, the destruction of the land by explosions. But if the testing area is silent until then there is no land left undamaged at all. The people are very angry... Thus Yesengeldi Nurshayev, first secretary of the Qyzylqogha Rayon Party Committee, expressed his views on the subject. And we are unable to believe at all the words of the people of the military reserve to the effect that "the zone has suffered no ecological damage."

In fact, do our eyes see no damage, and do we believe what they say? Leaving aside, first and foremost, the question of damage to the air, and to water, is it not damage when the sand dunes are cut to pieces and mercilessly and utterly destroyed. When we take a stroll through the area to see the damage, there are craters up to ten feet deep where the rockets have struck at some places the divisions of Shiliyotang, Temirshaghyl, Qostan, Awbakir, Qumshyngraw and Altyqulash. In addition, remnants of rockets lying scattered among the grass have smashed through the grass stalks like a scythe, and have damaged them.

When the explosions take place, we are loaded onto vehicles, willy-nilly, and taken to a place 20-25 versts away. From there we listen to the sound of the explosions for two or three days. This is what we have experienced for 40 years. The military people treat us with scorn, and if anyone dares to question them it is "shut your mouth,



go away." "These times we are under arrest," Qalybay Aytzhanov, senior shepherd of the Engels imeni sovkhos said tiredly.

**Bolat Mukhambetaliyev, veterinarian of "Komsomol" Sovkhoz:**—In 1984 many cattle died. When we performed autopsies on 12 of the cattle, the livers of all had been ruined. In my view this was due to damage caused by the test zone.

**Tilegen Qayyrbayev, director of Zhangeldin imeni Sovkhoz:**—It is nonsense that the military testing area is causing no damage. Chemical tests were carried out between 1985 and 1986. They turned the surface of the land completely yellow. It would seem that the testing areas are necessary for strengthening our defense. However, there are 31,200 persons living here in Qyzylqogha rayon. All of them, it would seem, are Kazakhs. Is there not some small reason to think about the condition of local inhabitants, and their health?

The following facts offered us by Qyzylqogha physician Bolat Yesenghaliyev seem to tell us a great deal: "Last year 128 cases of cancer were recorded in the rayon, 877 cases of anemia, 15 cases of nervous-psychological ailments, and 38 cases of female sterility. Some 46 mothers gave birth prematurely, there were 61 defective children born and 13 children were born dead. Likewise, 37 children aged up to one, and 12 children aged up to 2 died of various illnesses last year." Moreover, this should make us think about the words of Ibat Zhamalgazyev, chair of the Tushchyqudyk Village Soviet Executive Committee of Makhamet Rayon, one of those village elders who has raised the issue of the Naryn problem, to the effect that: "Lung disease is on the increase in our area. Every other day there is word of rocket testing in the military zone. There are horse herdsman nearby. Horses have been dying since 1979. Something like 800 horses perish a year. Some 35 cattle died in one night. Moreover, there are some 200 cases of lung disease in "Zaburny" Sovkhoz and 190 cases in Chapayev imeni Sovkhoz. What is going on?" To be sure, we cannot attribute everything to the test zone alone, but we can certainly say that all of this is in part due to its harmful influence!

#### **Military Testing in Kazakhstan's Orda Rayon Detailed**

91US0025B Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh  
14 Sep 90 p 10,11

[Article by Aqutshap Baqtygerreyeva: "Destruction in Orda"]

[Excerpts] A pine forest grows among the white sand dunes, stretching over some 20-30 versts. It is now only a remnant for a people which has equated purity of air with paradise. This is the center of what once was the domain of the famous Dzhanggir Khan, the land of the present-day "Orda" Sovkhoz of Oral Oblast.

A people who has passed through centuries of history are not responsible for the fact that once the domains of Bokey Khan and Dzhanggir Khan were established in Orda. How sad when we understand that our loss of the khans is also our loss of the customs of the ancestors, of the memories of the people. A land where the people have gathered, a homeland once selected as a suitable residence for the khans, a fatherland of the ancestors, is no longer an historical site these days. It is rather a region of military tests.

Circa 1927 nearly 66,000 persons were living in the area of the Rayon. The population today is barely 16,000. It is not possible to tell the tale of three painful migrations of a populated area, one frequently located near the palaces of khans, without tears in the eyes of those worldly-wise who have witnessed it. It seems as if I can recall the image of the last migration from the area from my own childhood memories. It must have been in 1951. This is because beginning with that year, Orda sands became an area for testing weapons...

1951. The people left.

And what is the present state of Orda like? We have discussed the fate of Semipalatinsk. But it is only this year that we have opened our mouths to speak about a people which has lost its khans, whose culture has been destroyed, which has been trampled down for nearly 40 years.

It is difficult to believe that the "Orda" Sovkhoz of today was in its time an elegant cultural center where Zhanggir Khan had his palace. The pine houses which have lasted through the centuries are not completely decrepit. The treasury where the Khan kept his wealth has now become a museum. The reason is 40 years as a weapons testing area.

On test days the soldiers would come and load the herdsman families onto vehicles and would deposit them at the foot of some distant tree. Children in diapers, mothers without water would be left on their own for 2-3 days. Later they were taken up and deposited at the winter pastures. This was the concern shown to them. No one worried about broken windows or collapsed chimneys. Nor about any living thing! If a herdsman unintentionally enters the boundaries of the "zone," he is leapt on and seized as if he were some spy. Anyone wishing to leave a herding sovkhos in the broad steppe, in the boundless sands, can only leave if he carries a passport. It is as if one is obligated to suffer insult in one's own house. All of this is implicit in the concept of a place which must be secret for the sake of the nation. In the shops of the city not on the map inhabited by the military officers there is everything but chicken milk, but a confection called "chicken milk" is sold. Kazakh herdsman weep for noodles in their little huts. Where is the justice in this?

The horses you herd now in the sands of Naryn where the qulan once sported are sick. In a few years' time the horses of neighboring rayons have dropped dead too.

There is no explanation of what caused their death. Their blood has somehow flowed out from some place on their bodies. The animals have crashed to the ground and have given up the ghost. We cannot cut the meat up. No one has told us whether or not we can eat them. All that the people know is that the number of people dying from throat and liver cancer is on the increase. Infant morality is also up. It has been ascertained that six-month figures for the births of defective children in Orda Rayon and in neighboring Zhanibek Rayon have doubled. No one has worried about care or medical assistance for children or adults in the region. Only dentists work in neighboring Zhanibek Rayon, in the 21,000-person rayon center!

The steppe this year was particularly rich. The crops are good there; the grass is rich. The rain which falls in June has a certain influence on the area. The ears of sparkling golden grain turn brown. Why? The ecological committee exists in name only. No one knows anything whatever about equipment to measure radiation, or about the possibilities of investigating climate. If a Geiger counter were provided there would be no one who would know what the indicator readings mean. But leaving this aside, we have heard the complaint that an old man, blown up by the rear end of a crashed rocket he was removing from the sand, was carried off by the soldiers without any notice whatever being given about his death. What stupidity!

There are many songs and poems about the sands of Naryn in the region. The present generation knows nothing about the history. It has been 140 years since the laying of the foundation stone for the first Russian-Kazakh school opened in Orda. No one is surprised about the fate of the young people who have come forth from that school. The railway passing through the Orda rayon center has taken you to every corner of our nation.

#### Nuclear Testing in Uralsk Oblast

91US0025C Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh  
14 Sep 90 p 10, 11

[Article by Sarikqali Khasanov: "Region of Secret Tests"]

[Excerpts] **It would seem as if the military testing at Naryn has created not a little danger for the health and lives of local people. A certain "fertility" of disease and illness has arisen among the villages and settlements of the area.**

If not worthy of the name article, I had put my interview, of the type once unfit for publication, on tape. Not just that, but I had gone on the sly, keeping secret from the people in the whirlpools of white cream in Naryn, and thereby I wished to tell the "forbidden" thought, as it is worded in a friend's song only we had thought to read. However, before any of this, I was delighted by the white rockets which cut across the horizon of our village in June like diamond swords, and I was in a hurry to depict

in my picture album with a brush the image of how they had first left an impressive trace in the sky, and became a "toy" which cannot be found in any village store.

Indeed, I depicted "dancing" military rockets, leaping in the sky of a region sung about once by Makhambet and implored in the musical groanings of Qurmanghazy and Dina, for a summer, until my paints ran out. They were unexpected, interesting: They "crashed," some of them to the south, some of the west of the village, as if they were shot into the earth below the yellow houses along our street. In the twilight, they flashed like groups of fire arrows in the direction of the moon.

—Let it be, you will freeze, come into the house my child. The soldiers of Aqserke are not going anywhere. Save some of your paint for next year. Do not the damned rockets increase in numbers with each passing year!?—someone would say.

Since the day was cold, we went through the thick snow drifts and were unable to last long in the cold. Since the rockets were crashing outside, as if breaking the ice of lake Tushchy-Qulag, we sat at home and my friend and I wondered if we would be utterly isolated until spring came. Spring was the most interesting time of all: a tracked vehicle passed near the village with many wheels linked together like goose feet, bouncing along frightening the milk cows lazily moving to pasture. Later we unexpectedly came face to face with troops of N. Unit in Aqserke, and made friends with them. The soldiers often came to our village with their powerful tracked vehicle which we had never seen before in our lives. At a time when housing was short in the village they were able to find luxurious accommodations. House No ..., Proletariat Street. Two-three officers and several soldiers lived there during the summer.

We wanted to "get together" in a manner the elders disapproved of and that is what happened. Each of us disappeared just like the soldiers in a flash. We stole from home, from our own frying-pans, newly-baked bread and just baked, still warm milk, and brought it to the soldiers. Thus we established contact.

—Go tell your mother. When you drive the milk cows out into the desert, do not drive them too far. Beyond the desert is the military zone,—ordered the soldiers. They spoke with unbuttoned shirts while drinking down the milk.

When I grew up, playing with radioactive rockets at the foot of our Aqserke military village was forbidden. During the summer of one year we were collecting hay in the "Azkundik" pasture of Qumar hill, part of the range of hills surrounding Naryn. Soldiers were nearby. The distance was short. We had come very close to their old winter quarters. "Stop!"—said someone from a central position in Russian, in an authoritative voice. We stopped immediately, as if struck by a bullet. A person wearing a military uniform came forth and looked at us with suspicion. "Where did you come from? For what reason are you in the military zone?"—he said as if he

still did not fully understand what was going on. Our accountant spoke Russian well. He explained that we were people of Novaya-Kazanka village and that we had come on the orders of the chief of the farm there to collect hay for two or three days.

—So, you are who you are.—One of the soldiers holding a radio in his hand said.—But come together my lads. A helicopter is going to land here. After that ...

—From Aqserke?

—No.

—From Kapyar.—The accountant also laughed.—We know, we are Kapustinyar.

—Leave off. We are only scouts,—said a second soldier, astonished.

When it became dark, and they had taken counsel with one another, the brigadier said, angrily, "Gather together lads. We return to camp at daybreak tomorrow." "We have found much more on the summit of this hill," said one veteran, which irritated the soldiers greatly. "Are they testing again? Are we going to the village again? Are we going to disappear again for a week from the sight of our wives and children?" It was like that that year. Unknown to us they were continuing military tests. Sometimes it was the hay collectors, sometimes the shepherds hidden in the sand dunes, sometimes the milking and horse raising families, pushed out with the words: "You must move out of the test zone." To be seen frequently at each place are non-ferrous assemblies and components of military rockets which once soared, but which have smashed into the sun and now glow. The people take them home, thinking them some great discovery and hurry to spruce up their farms. If the soldiers see this, it is very serious: "It is forbidden! Are they harmless, or not? We must carry out full tests?" We cannot say whether or not a bullet has struck them, or whether a rocket has blown them up, but some years wild goats are killed among the crescent-shaped sand dunes of Naryn. Cattle returning from distant pastures get sick, and the ear has become used to hearing that wolves and dogs have been gathering together. In recent years we have begun to hear frequently in the village of persons completely healthy among us up to the last minute who have "come down with an incurable disease." We have begun to think it commonplace.

We have frequently wracked our brains asking "why do we need a military unit in Aqserke?" Once the unit was located quite close to the village. It was like two sides of a state boundary. On the one side of a large farm surrounded by brambles were the soldiers, on the other the Kazakh village. While the people on one side of the line were wearing out their nerves worrying about "fulfilling the plan," none of the local people knew what the soldiers on the other side of the line were doing, or why they were even there. The soldiers were "not to be seen by the local people, and were to maintain strict secrecy." They finally moved over to Aqserke, one of the most

fertile steppe areas of the old Bokey Plain. If you say that Aqserke is a name not to be found on geographical maps, it is a town of its own like Kurchatov in Semipalatinsk. Layer upon layer of housing has shot up. Everything you might need is found in the stores. There are daily flights to Kapustin Yar by helicopter, and the life-style is good. On the other hand, Novaya Kazanka Village nearby (for a number of years Zhangaqala Rayon center), the village where once Saytqali Mengdeshev, first chairman of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee, proclaimed: "We have established a Soviet regime in our region," is presently in a condition which will depress whoever sees it. The problem of baking bread to sell for the daily use of many thousands of inhabitants in a village, which has striven since the 1970s to live in accordance with the new way of life, continues to be present. There are also instances where drinking water must be drawn from the single well in Aqserke, with the permission of the military commander.

The military is also building a road. When new officers come to the unit from Kapustin Yar (officers are changed frequently), their wives, if they are teachers or doctors, are housed in the Novaya Kazanka Middle school, or the first floor of the hospital. Young village school graduates (they are many!) are forced to give way before them and must betake themselves elsewhere! If the soldiers have two or three children, they are transported by bus every day over a distance of about 20 versts. On the other hand, the children of distinguished herdsmen, shepherds and equipment operators are concentrated in farm centers and are hidden completely from their parents from Zhualy Depression, Baldyrehan and Zyp Valley. And if they manage to go home they cannot return to school, and are melancholy for long days.

Kazakh villages located near military bases and whose names are written very clearly on the map of the USSR are, in comparison to Aqserke, becoming more and more dilapidated, and are disappearing.

It would seem as if there are not a few dangers to the health and lives of local people on account of radioactive military tests at Naryn. Various kinds of diseases and illnesses occur in the villages of the area.

One citizen participating in a meeting of the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" Movement, which struggles against nuclear tests on account of damage of the Western Kazakhstan Military Test Site, said it well. On the day that the hall of the Kazakhstan Writers Union resounded with the slogans: "Stop the undeclared war against our own people!", "Let us be saved from the deadly grief of nuclear tests in Kazakhstan," he suggested that the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" Movement be renamed "Nevada-Kazakhstan." That is the bitter truth of it.



### Deputy Details Recent Uzbek Goskompriroda Achievements

91WN0069A Tashkent SELSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 18 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with V. Konyukhov, deputy chairman of the UzSSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, conducted by Uzbek Telegraph Agency correspondent N. Shulepina: "A Healthy Economy Is Inconceivable Without a Healthy Environment"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The country is changing over to market relations. Along with enterprises belonging to the national economic complex, the environmental-protection agencies will also be working under new conditions. Is cooperation between the industrialists and the environmentalists possible? Will mutual understanding be found between them? These and other questions are answered by V. Konyukhov, deputy chairman of Uzbekistan's State Committee for the Protection of Nature.

[Shulepina] Vladimir Grigoryevich, the State Committee for the Protection of Nature has taken a number of steps against enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry: the Fergana Furan Compounds Plant has been shut down, the yeast shop at the Andizhan Hydrolysis Plant has been closed, and the capacity of a similar production facility at the Yangiyul Biochemical Plant has been reduced. But here is a report from the Uzbek Poultry Industry Association saying that the production of nutrient yeast has drastically declined. And consequently, during the second six months of the year consumers will not get 4,200 tons of poultry meat and 87.2 million eggs. Does this mean that it's the environment versus the economy?

[Konyukhov] Environmental pollution by those enterprises had become threatening. Thus, the Yangiyul Biochemical Plant was polluting water in the river: the ammonium nitrate content alone in it was nearly 400 times the norm. The enterprise had one goal: the plan. But the market economy has a different guideline—profits. And here we can become allies of the economic managers. For example, we had a conflict with the Bekabad Cement Plant. Now powerful filters have been installed there, and scarce material is being trapped. Nonetheless, many people do not want to understand that.

The Angren Coal Strip Mine has occupied more than 2,000 hectares of land—what's more, without a state act authorizing its use. The topsoil is being discarded in spoilbanks. Millions of tons of clay, limestone and loam are going into them, too. By processing them, it would be possible to earn up to 100 million rubles in profits and to supply the republic with building materials. We have filed a claim for 70 million rubles against the Angren Strip Mine.

[Shulepina] Where does this money go? Evidently, into the budget once again.

[Konyukhov] Until recently the environmentalists had practically no money for environmental protection. With the adoption of the USSR Law on Local Government, not only fines but charges for emissions, sewage, the use of resources, and the storage and burial of waste will start going into environmental-protection funds. These regulations will go into effect as of 1 January 1991.

In preparing normative rates, we used the experience that has been amassed in the world. We also studied specific local features. Every figure in our calculations is checked by the Uzbekenergo [Uzbek Power] Production Association, Sredazgazprom [Central Asia Gas Industry Association] and a number of chemical-industry enterprises. If there are well-founded arguments in favor of lowering strict coefficients, we take them into account. But I can foresee how many problems still lie ahead of us.

And in the meantime, the State Committee for the Protection of Nature, which is just over two years old, is constantly coming up against the lack of money. From the fund, we have allocated 300,000-400,000 each for financing work in Saryasiyskiy, Muynakskiy and Tashlakskiy rayons. But there is not enough money to study many urgent problems. Thus, a serious environmental situation has developed in Fergana. Hydrogen sulfide, hexane and several other toxic gases have been found in the cellars of buildings there.

[Shulepina] Was there an accident?

[Konyukhov] Geophysicists at the Krasnokholmskgeologiya [Krasnokholm Geological] Association have taken preliminary measurements. There are grounds for believing that microorganisms have become activated in the ground water. The gases are the product of their metabolic activity.

[Shulepina] That same theory was put forward in connection with the penetration of gases into the Chkalovskaya Station of the Tashkent Subway.

[Konyukhov] In both places human beings upset the balance in nature. In Fergana the situation began to deteriorate three years ago, when the foothills surrounding the Fergana Valley started to be developed. Ground water rose and flooded the lignin "charts" of the Furan Compounds Chemical Plant. Studies will tell who was to blame. But right now the State Committee for the Protection of Nature has nothing with which to pay for such studies.

[Shulepina] What is your position with regard to the "destroyers of nature"?

[Konyukhov] Give them the opportunity to correct their ways. For example, the Chirchik Elektrokhimprom [Electrochemical Industry Association] has signed a contract with a Western company worth 54 million foreign-exchange rubles. The project has passed expert review in the State Committee for the Protection of Nature and been approved—discharges will be sharply reduced.

Two cost-accounting-based research and production centers, the Atmosphere Center and the Ecology of Water Resources Center, have been set up under the State Committee for the Protection of Nature to provide assistance to nature users. Their specialists are doctors and candidates of sciences. They are performing several million rubles' worth of work for enterprises. The enterprises have also found a good many helpers among the cooperatives. But their level of expertise does not always satisfy environmental-control officials. It is impossible to get by without a certification process here. We will carry out the registration of cooperatives concerned with the environment. We will determine who can be trusted and issue them certificates. Whoever is interested in commissions, which means profits, will take care to ensure the high quality of their work.

We take various steps against those who ruin the environment: we make recommendations, issue prescriptions, and suspend operations. And we shut down operations. But that is an extreme measure. Thus, the New Kokand Chemical Plant, which the State Committee for the Protection of Nature shut down last year, was for all intents and purposes abandoned to the whims of fate. Hundreds of people lost jobs. Our task is to prevent the construction of such facilities. Since the beginning of the year the banks have suspended financing in 20 cases on the recommendation of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature.

[Shulepina] Under the conditions of a market economy, whoever invests money in a dubious project will punish himself. But how will the violators of environmental-protection legislation be punished?

[Konyukhov] In the past six months we have turned over 75 cases to the procuracy agencies. But in actuality, 11 have been heard.

The UzSSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature has drawn up a whole series of documents for consideration at the fall session of the republic Supreme Soviet. They include a statute on our committee, a concept of its activities, and a program up until the year 2000.

[Shulepina] What are the main areas in the future work of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature?

[Konyukhov] First of all, we will get into the regions of uranium ore extraction and enrichment, which until recently were closed to us. There are a good many violations there that must be investigated. We will establish a special service for the radiological monitoring of radioactive contamination.

A large place in our plans is occupied by implementation of the interregional environmental-protection program. Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan will take part in it. The program contains more than 60 components. They include the problems of

the drying up of the Aral, questions of the comprehensive use of water resources, and the establishment of joint nature preserves, reserves and national parks.

We will conduct joint expert reviews of facilities sited in border regions. The regional program will be expanded and become a permanent program.

[Shulepina] But won't the market economy make adjustments in these plans?

[Konyukhov] We are already convinced that a healthy economy benefits from a healthy environment.

### Officials Describe Environmental Engineering Efforts in Tajikistan

91WN0069B Dushanbe KOMMUNIST  
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 7 Oct 90 p 3

[Round-table discussion involving V. F. Kozelskiy, deputy director of the Soyuzstromeкологиya Production Association's engineering center; P. K. Khripunov, director of the Central Asian Engineering Center; V. I. Gavrilin, director of the Dushanbe Spetsavtomatika Experimental Plant; and A. G. Pal, head of KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA's industrial and economics department: "The Ekologiya Concern: Broad Possibilities in Environmental-Protection Work"; date and place of discussion not given]

[Text] Here and there, various regions of the planet are being declared environmental-disaster zones. Their range is enormous—from the Chernobyl accident to stinking motor vehicles. Appeals to protect Mother Earth are being heard from all sides and from various levels, but they often resemble a weak wave of the hand trying to brush away a stream of tobacco smoke. Nothing else. The environment really does have nothing with which to resist its numerous and mighty adversaries. We have no environmental-protection branch of the economy, as such. Yet in terms of its scientific and technical outfitting, such a branch should surpass the level of development of industry, construction and transportation. Only then will it be possible to carry out the monitoring and protection of the environment and adopt measures that can be carried out. But for now, it is hard even to find the most basic gas analyzer.

The situation should change for the better with the organization of the Soyuzstromeкологиya [approximate expansion: All-Union Construction-Industry Environmental-Protection] Research and Production Association, which is opening its centers in various regions of the country. Such a center, the Ekologiya Asian Industrial Engineering Concern, is also being established in our republic.

The establishment and tasks of this organization were the topic of discussion at a KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA round-table discussion, the participants in which were V. F. Kozelskiy, deputy director of the Soyuzstromeкологиya Production Association's engineering center; P. K. Khripunov, director of the Central Asian

Engineering Center; V. I. Gavrilin, director of the Dushanbe Spetsavtomatika [Special Automation Equipment] Experimental Plant; and A. G. Pal, head of KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA's industrial and economics department.

[Pal] Vladimir Fedorovich, I ask that you introduce our future newspaper readers to the essence of the matter.

[Kozelskiy] The Soyuzstromeкологиya Research and Production Association was established in accordance with a decision by the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs and the USSR State Planning Committee in 1988. It was set the task of deciding environmental questions at the country's construction-industry enterprises in a comprehensive fashion.

After a year and a half of work, we reached the conclusion that a strategic error had been made: in addressing environmental problems at construction-industry enterprises, we had selected a single thread out of the overall bundle, leaving the rest without attention. Therefore, we needed to restructure our attitude toward environmental protection. We started to look into production processes in all branches, so that our association could accomplish the tasks of designing comprehensive environmental-protection programs on a regional basis, and not just at specific enterprises.

A lot of work was done to study the environmental situation in the country. And on the basis of both a UNESCO decision and our own findings, Tajikistan and, especially, its capital Dushanbe have been leaders in creating the most unfavorable conditions for human life. Therefore, a decision was made to establish an engineering center in Dushanbe to tackle environmental-protection problems at the city's enterprises.

Unfortunately, it was impossible to provide our subdivision with even the most meager production facilities. Designing and manufacturing aspiration apparatus alone is far from the ultimate result of our work. We have already reached the point that our regional engineering centers, of which we have 10, have addressed various tasks in their entirety, in a comprehensive fashion.

In a year the Dushanbe center has started to manufacture certain instruments; because of the lack of production capacity, it was unable to do anything more.

[Khripunov] In an interview a year ago I told about how we were "helped" to get on our feet. The Council of Ministers, after considering our proposals, ordered the gorispolkom to allocate us a building for the engineering center. Things dragged on for months, and then we were given a run-down private home. It was ridiculous to give it to us. Of course, no centrally allocated materials, not a single nail, were given to us to repair it. But what could we do? We entered into a contract with a cooperative. The repairs dragged on; the cooperative defrauded us; and we were left holding the bag. Thanks go to the university, which has supported us so far, and to the industrial technicum, where we have been leased a

machine shop and two rooms. Those are the facilities with which we are still working this year to carry out a program on the order of 800,000 rubles.

We have managed to set up a department of preproject inspection. At present we are proposing a comprehensive program of work to enterprises that they are undertaking with willingness and understanding, because at the first stage it presupposes inspection and the drawing up of an environmental-protection certification document. That introduces clarity into what sort of environmental-protection equipment needs to be designed and manufactured.

Right now we are providing approximately 150,000 rubles' worth of services for the first stage. We have very many orders from enterprises of our neighbors—Uzbekistan and Turkmenia. We even get orders from Kazakhstan.

At the second stage we have begun to develop a list of instruments to be manufactured, and we have now already begun the production of nitrate measuring instruments and are marketing them intensively. We are beginning the production of gas analyzers to determine the composition of motor-vehicle emissions starting with the fourth quarter. We have about 1,000 orders for next year.

That is all that we have been able to do, since we have not received the necessary support from the city authorities or financial support from the republic. Therefore, we have arrived at a decision that several enterprises need to be consolidated and combined in order that the undertaking can make real progress, especially at the second stage.

[Kozelskiy] We sought a decision and received what we wanted: a plant. Granted, it does not look very impressive, but it has tremendous potential: according to our calculations the plant can produce 30-35 million rubles' worth of commodity output a year, but right now it produces only 6 million rubles' worth. It is the Tadzhiikhimselfkhoz mash [Tajik Chemical and Farm Machinery Plant] in Kanihadam. It is located in a region with tremendous manpower resources and has the potential to sharply increase its number of workers—up to 4,000-5,000. Combining its production capacity with the engineering center is opening up real prospects. And although the organizational process is still under way, we have already enabled the plant to increase its production by 16 million rubles. Overall, next year it may reach the level of 25 million rubles. 2,000 new jobs are being created. And yet another plant has successfully found itself within our sphere of interests.

[Gavrilin] Our ordeals are worth relating in greater detail.

Our plant is in the system of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, and during all these years it has not received a single decent research and development



study. Attempts to put three types of new output that were received from the ministry into production came to naught because of the poor technical quality of the research and development work. We went independently to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' research institute and undertook the production of several instruments—and once again, no interest. The research and production association has its own plans and is totally uninterested. It does not want to enter into contractual relations with us. Its products are unprofitable for us, and it is impossible to put them into series production, because they have not been developed for our technology.

And so the collective made the decision to withdraw from the Zashchita [Protection] Research and Production Association and to establish a lease-based enterprise. After all, today we give 80 kopeks out of every ruble of profit to the budget. With such draconian deductions, it we cannot exist.

But we cannot go it alone. We need to reconstruct our production facilities and introduce advanced technology, and we have no prospects, because we have not received a single research and development project. What can we produce that is on a par with world standards? What do we have to take to the foreign market, which every self-respecting enterprise thinks about today? And now the possibility is emerging to establish the Ekologiya Asian Industrial Engineering Concern.

[Pal] Thus, a new economic branch is being established in the republic that makes it possible to address environmental problems in a comprehensive fashion and on an industrial basis. An engineering center, two plants—is that all that will be part of the concern?

[Kozelskiy] In the future we are also thinking of bringing in a design and an installation organization. Then the concern will be able to carry out comprehensive programs.

[Pal] Aside from the fact that the environmental situation in the republic is acute, what other factors have determined the establishment of such a large center?

[Kozelskiy] Our Soyuzstromekologiya Association has the broadest ties with firms in many countries—American, Canadian, Indian. For example, we have reached an agreement with the Indians on the contractual delivery of environmental-control equipment. For the country's Central Asian Region, we need to have a major engineering and production center here.

[Pal] Its establishment, unfortunately, has come up in a time of economic confusion and decline in the discipline of business relations. The failure to fulfill contracted deliveries is just a trifle. Ties that have been established over many years of cooperation between partners are being severed with exceptional irresponsibility. How do you see the concern's development in such circumstances?

[Kozelskiy] We are trying with all our might to avoid that sort of disorder and confusion. We ourselves will supply all of the essential components—in this case, electronics and electrical equipment. The research and production association will undertake the job of distributing orders and forming contractual relations. The enterprise should work according to a single system adopted in the research and production association. The research and production association has the ability to help the enterprises that join it with the rights of subsidiaries in technically reequipping themselves and in carrying out their social programs. A half million rubles has already been invested in the development of the Kanibadam plant. Later on the concern should acquire independence. We will grant it the right to freely enter the international market with all of the attendant circumstances. Marketing will remain the job of the research and production association. The maximum percentage of profits will remain with the enterprise, which it will be able to use to conduct reproduction and improve its employees' social conditions. We will collect no more taxes than our outlays provide for. They will not exceed 15 percent.

[Khripunov] This year the engineering center has already obtained an interest-free loan. That has helped us tremendously.

[Gavrillin] As parts of the concern, we, of course, have flexible possibilities for helping one another. Our collective is disposed only that way in switching over to leasing arrangements.

[Kozelskiy] In establishing the concern, we are delegating part of our responsibility to the enterprises. An enterprise deducts no more than four percent of its profits for maintaining the staff of the research and production association, and that, incidentally, is part of the 15 percent I just mentioned. We have no interest in a policy of robbery with respect to our subsidiary enterprises.

[Pal] One mandatory question must be asked: Where will you get specialists in the present situation in which there is an exodus of personnel from the republic?

[Kozelskiy] For the plant in Kanibadam we will somehow resolve production questions. But for the concern as a whole, we will have a very difficult time hiring engineering personnel. So far we have only hopes for a positive outcome of our undertaking, although certain practical steps are being planned. We have reached an agreement with the director of the Kanibadam plant that he will take a group of young men who have returned from the army and send them to study vocations with an environmental-protection slant. The training of environmental-protection specialists at the university is feasible.

But here I myself should ask a question: What is the attitude of the republic State Committee for the Protection of Nature toward us? And so, to my great regret, I must express my failure to understand the position that

has been taken by the state committee's executives. I am surprised by the lack of understanding of environmental problems at the republic's enterprises. And one more opinion. The newspaper VECHERNIY DUSHANBE for 13 September carried an article by some member of a cooperative titled "Clean Air for the Future." It's like the tale of the emperor's new clothes. Everything is simplified to the point of idiocy: uncle will come along and do

everything. This sort of "propaganda" on environmental issues is also dangerous in that money may be found for the cooperative, while there is none to provide any sort of help in developing our branch.

And we are supposed to develop and establish a real business, for that is the only way we can escape disaster.

**RSFSR Law on Freedom of Religion**

91UN0272A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 10 Nov 90 Second Edition p 5

["Law of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic: On Freedom of Religion"]

[Text] Freedom of religion is the inalienable right of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] citizens, guaranteed by the RSFSR Constitution and international obligations of the Russian Federation.

This law proceeds from the provision, contained in international agreements and pacts, to the effect that the freedom to have religious or atheistic convictions and carry out activities in this regard is subject only to restrictions established by law and necessary to ensure the rights and freedoms of other persons.

**I. General Provisions Article 1. Objectives of the RSFSR Law on Freedom of Religion**

The objectives of the RSFSR Law on Freedom of Religion are to regulate social relations arising in this sphere with the aim of observing and exercising in unified fashion over the entirety of RSFSR territory the principles of freedom and conscience which are embedded in the RSFSR Constitution, as well as of implementing the rights of citizens to the enjoyment of this freedom.

**Article 2. Legislation on Freedom of Religion**

RSFSR legislation on freedom of religion consists of this law and other enactments of legislation of the Russian Federation published in conjunction with it.

**Article 3. The Essence of Freedom of Religion in the RSFSR**

Guaranteed by the RSFSR Constitution, freedom of religion includes the rights of each citizen to freely choose, maintain, and disseminate religious or atheistic convictions, to profess any religion or not profess any, and to act in accordance with his convictions under the condition that the laws of the state are observed.

**Article 4. Basic Forms of the Exercise of Freedom of Religion**

Citizens of the RSFSR, foreign citizens, and persons without citizenship may enjoy the right to freedom of religion individually as well as jointly, through the establishment of appropriate public associations. Religious and atheistic public associations of citizens are formed and operate on the basis of their statutes (regulations), registered in accordance with procedure as established by this law. The activity of public associations of citizens formed with the aim of exercising the right of freedom of religion must not entail any encroachment upon the person, rights, or freedoms of citizens, or any violations of the law.

**Article 5. Guarantees of Freedom of Religion**

The basic guarantees of freedom of religion in the RSFSR are:

- equal rights of citizens regardless of their attitude toward religion;
- separation of religious and atheistic organizations from the state;
- secular nature of the system of state structuring;
- equality of religious organizations before the law;
- legislation ensuring the realization of freedom of religion and fixing responsibility for violation of it.

**Article 6. Equal Rights of Citizens Regardless of Their Attitude Toward Religion**

Citizens of the RSFSR are equal before the law in all spheres of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural life, regardless of their attitude toward religion.

Reference in official documents to a citizen's attitude toward religion is not permitted. Any direct or oblique restriction whatsoever of rights of citizens, or any establishment whatsoever of direct or oblique advantages for citizens which depend on their attitude toward religion, as well as any enmity or hatred arising in this regard, or insult against citizens in connection with their religious or atheistic convictions, will result in individuals being held responsible as prescribed by law.

Insults against the religious sensitivities of citizens and defilement of objects, structures, or localities revered in a given religion will be prosecuted according to the law.

**Article 7. Civic Obligations and Religious Convictions**

Attitude toward religion may not serve as a basis for refusal to fulfill or evasion of fulfillment of civic obligations established by law.

In instances as provided in RSFSR legislation, the substitution of one citizen for another in fulfillment of civic obligations is permitted. People who by virtue of their religious convictions cannot engage in military service in the Armed Forces are afforded the right, under conditions and according to procedure as established by law, to substitute in this regard service not related to the taking up and bearing of arms.

**Article 8. Separation of Religious and Atheistic Organizations From the State**

Religious organizations in the RSFSR are separated from the state. The state, its organs, and responsible officials do not intervene in questions of citizens' determination of their attitude toward religion, do not interfere in the legal activity of religious organizations, and do not entrust to them the fulfillment of any state functions whatsoever. Executive or administrative organs of state authority and state job positions specially intended to resolve issues related to the exercise of



citizens' rights to freedom of religion may not be instituted on the territory of the RSFSR. The state protects the legal activity of religious organizations.

Religious organizations may not interfere in matters of state and do not participate in the elections of organs of state authority or government, or in the activity of political parties. Members of religious organizations have rights equal with those of other citizens to individual participation in political life.

Religious organizations of citizens may participate in the sociocultural life of society in accordance with legislation regulating the activity of social organizations in the RSFSR.

Social organizations of citizens formed with the aim of conducting joint study and dissemination of atheistic beliefs are separate from the state.

**Article 9. Secular Nature of the System of State Structuring**

The state structural system and system of education are secular in nature and do not pursue aims of forming one attitude or another toward religion.

The teaching of religion and conduct of religious upbringing may be exercised in nonstate educational or indoctrinational institutions, privately in the home, or with a religious organization, as well as on an optional basis according to the desire of citizens as representatives of religious organizations having a registered charter, in any preschool or educational institutions or organizations.

The teaching of religion in an academic or epistemological framework, and of religious-philosophical disciplines, which is not accompanied by the conduct of rites or ceremonies and is informative in nature, may be included in the educational program of state educational institutions.

Children have the right to freely express their opinions and the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. The state respects the freedom of a child and his parents or legal guardians to provide for the child's religious and moral upbringing in accordance with their convictions and at their choice.

**Article 10. Equality of Religious Organizations Before the Law**

All religions and religious organizations are equal before the laws of the state. No religion or religious organization enjoys any advantages over another, nor may it be subject to any restriction as compared with another. The state is neutral regarding questions of freedom of religion and religious conviction, i.e., it does not take the side of any religion or world view.

**Article 11. State Control of Observance of Legislation on Freedom of Religion in the RSFSR**

State control of the observance of legislation on freedom of religion in the RSFSR is effected through the soviets of people's deputies as well as appropriate law enforcement organs according to their jurisdiction as established by law. State control through other state organs, political parties, or responsible officials is prohibited.

Registration of charters (regulations) of religious organizations falls exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice and its organs in the localities, according to the rules laid down in this law.

**Article 12. Expert Review and Consultation Council of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Charity, and Philanthropy**

The Expert Review and Consultation Council of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Charity, and Philanthropy is formed from representatives of religious organizations, social organizations, state organs, religious experts, legal experts, and other specialists in the sphere of freedom of conscience and religion. The composition of the council is confirmed by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet upon presentation by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Charity, and Philanthropy.

The Expert Review and Consultation Council:

- establishes a data bank on religious organizations registered in the RSFSR;
- consults the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Freedom of Conscience, Religion, Charity, and Philanthropy and other committees of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on matters of application of this law;
- makes judgments of legal and religious expertise, and makes official pronouncements upon query by organs of state government and the courts.

**Article 13. Responsibility for Violation of Legislation on Freedom of Religion**

Persons guilty of violating legislation on freedom of conscience and religion bear criminal, administrative, and other responsibility as established by RSFSR legislation. Proceedings may not be brought against anyone for their convictions with respect to attitude toward religion.

Confidentiality of the confessional is protected by law. Clergymen may not be questioned or be required to explain to anyone whomsoever circumstances or facts which have been ascertained from the religious confession of a citizen.

**Article 14. State Organs and Religious Holidays**

Upon the request of mass religious organizations, organs of state authority in the RSFSR have the right to make decisions regarding the declaration of great religious holidays as additional nonworking holidays (days off).

## II. The Right to Religious Convictions and Religious Activity

### Article 15. The Right to Religious Convictions

In accordance with the RSFSR Constitution, every citizen has the right to choose and maintain religious convictions, and to change these freely. An RSFSR citizen may, on his own or jointly with others who hold the same beliefs, profess any religion, form religious denominations without hindrance, voluntarily join religious organizations and leave them. An RSFSR citizen may express and disseminate religious views and convictions orally, or in printed or other form, provided this activity does not violate this law or public order and is not accompanied by encroachments against individuals or the rights of citizens.

Obstructing the acceptance of religious beliefs or repudiation of such beliefs, obstructing entry into or departure from a religious organization, or applying coercive measures to these ends is punishable by law.

### Article 16. Right to the Conduct of Religious Rites

Obstructing the conduct of religious rites not in violation of RSFSR legislation is punishable by law.

The conduct of atheistic events in places used for religious ceremony by a congregation of believers in accordance with this law is not permitted.

### Article 17. Religious Organizations

A religious organization is a voluntary association of adult citizens formed for the purpose of jointly exercising the right of citizens to freedom of religion, to include joint worship and propagation of the faith.

Worship and propagation of a faith include establishment of a denomination, propagating its beliefs in society directly or through the mass media, missionary activity, acts of charity and mercy, religious training and upbringing, ascetic activity (monasteries, hermitages, etc.), pilgrimages, and other activity determined by appropriate religious dogma and envisaged in the charter (regulations) of a given organization.

Religious organizations may be comprised of regional or centralized organizations, with organs of administration and other structural units as envisaged by the charter (regulations) of these organizations.

### Article 18. The Religious Organization as a Legal Entity

A religious organization of adult citizens, composed of at least 10 individuals, enjoys rights as a legal entity from the moment its charter (regulations) is registered in accordance with procedure as indicated in Article 20 of this Law.

A religious organization enjoying the rights of a legal entity may institute other religious organizations with rights as legal entities.

### Article 19. Charters (Regulations) of Religious Organizations

The charters (regulations) of religious organizations obtaining the right of legal entity must conform to appropriate requirements of civil legislation.

A charter (regulations) presented for registration must contain:

- 1) the name, location, and area of activity of the religious organization;
- 2) the aims, tasks, and basic forms of activity of the given organization;
- 3) the formational procedure, structure, and administration of the given religious organization;
- 4) sources of generating funds and asset relations both within the given organization and with other organizations, interaction with which is envisaged by the charter (regulations);
- 5) procedure for introducing amendments and additions to the charter (regulations);

All religious organizations in the RSFSR, regardless of the nature of their mutual relations as determined by their charter (regulations) with religious organizations outside the confines and jurisdiction of the RSFSR, function in accordance with RSFSR legislation.

### Article 20. Registration of Charters (Regulations) of Religious Organizations

In order to obtain the capacity of legal entity, citizens who have formed a religious organization submit an application, with charter (regulations) affixed, to the RSFSR Ministry of Justice or its organs in the localities (depending on the territory on which the activity of the given organization will be carried out).

Affiliation with a regional or centralized religious organization is indicated in the charter and confirmed by the organization so named. In such instances, justice organs are obligated to register the charter (regulations) in one month's time.

In the absence of confirmation by a regional or centralized organization, the appropriate justice organ refers to the Expert Review and Consultation Council of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for its conclusions. In such event, the time frame for registration may be extended to up to three months.

Registration of the charter (regulations) of a religious organization may be denied only in the event its contents run contrary to the requirements of this law or other legislative enactments of the RSFSR. Denial of registration of the charter (regulations) of a religious organization may be appealed to the courts.

### Article 21. Termination of Activity of a Religious Organization

The activity of a religious organization may be terminated:

1) upon decision of a general assembly of the founders of the religious organization, or of a congress (conference) of those who formed such an organization, as well as in the event of the organization's dissolution (disintegration);

2) upon decision, if the activity of a religious organization contradicts its charter (regulations) or existing legislation. Violation of legislation by individual members of religious organizations does not entail responsibility of the entire organization as a whole.

#### **Article 22. Religious Rites and Ceremonies**

Religious organizations have the right to institute and maintain freely accessible places of worship or religious assembly, as well as places revered in one religion or another (places of pilgrimage).

Citizens and religious organizations have the right to the unimpeded conduct of worship, religious rites and ceremonies, in houses of prayer and territory belonging to them, in places of pilgrimage, in institutions of religious organizations, at cemeteries and in crematoriums, and in the apartments and homes of citizens.

Citizens have the right to obtain, acquire, and utilize sacramental objects and religious literature, the right to conduct and participate in religious rites in military units of all branches of service, at medical treatment centers, at homes for the aged and disabled (all types), at child-care centers and boarding schools, and in places of pretrial confinement and locations where punishments are served (including solitary confinement and prison cells).

The administrations of such institutions are obligated to support the realization of this right of citizens to freedom of religion, to include affording them separate premises for the conduct of rites and ceremonies, assisting in the engagement of clergymen, and creating the conditions for their unrestricted contact with citizens.

In other locations, religious rites and ceremonies are conducted according to procedure as established for the conduct of meetings, rallies, marches, and demonstrations.

#### **Article 23. Religious Literature and Objects of Religious Significance**

Religious organizations have the right to produce, acquire, export, import, and distribute objects of denominational and religious significance, religious literature, and other printed matter.

Religious organizations enjoy the exclusive right to establish enterprises for producing religious literature and sacramental objects.

Publication of religious periodicals and other religious literature not designated for use in worship is carried out in accordance with the general legislation on the press and mass media.

#### **Article 24. Charitable Activity and Cultural-Educational Activity of Religious Organizations**

Religious organizations have the right to conduct charitable activity independently, as well as through social organizations (foundations). They have the right to establish denominational and educational organizations, and to institute mass media organs, including radio and television, under conditions and according to procedures established for social organizations in the RSFSR.

#### **Article 25. International Ties and Contacts**

Citizens and religious organizations have the right, on a group or individual basis, to establish and maintain international ties and direct contacts, including for pilgrimage purposes and participation in religious assemblies and other events, to obtain religious education, and to invite foreign citizens for these purposes.

### **III. Legal Relationships of Religious Organizations With Respect to Assets and Finances**

#### **Article 26. Assets of Religious Organizations**

The assets of religious organizations may include buildings, structures, denominational objects, facilities of a production, social, charitable, or cultural-educational nature, monetary assets, and other property necessary for their activity.

Religious organizations have the right of ownership of assets they have acquired through their own funds, contributions, donations of citizens or organizations, transfer by the state, or acquisition based on other legal means.

Religious organizations may possess assets in the territory of other states.

Conditions for the maintenance of objects and facilities which comprise historical-cultural monuments by religious organizations are coordinated with the appropriate administrations (departments) of culture. The state provides material assistance in restoring cultural facilities which are of historical-cultural value.

#### **Article 27. Use of State-Owned Assets by Social Organizations or Citizens**

Religious organizations have the right to use, for their needs and in accordance with their charters (regulations), land, buildings, and assets afforded them on a contractual basis by the state, social organizations, or citizens.

Religious organizations exercise their use of land according to procedure as established by legislation of the Russian Federation.



**Article 28. Economic-Production Activity of Religious Organizations**

In accordance with the legislation of the Russian Federation and its entities, and guided by their charters (regulations), religious organizations have the right to establish production, restoration, economic, agricultural, and other enterprises, which then have rights as a legal entity.

**Article 29. Labor Legal Relations of Citizens in Religious Organizations, at Their Enterprises and Institutions**

Religious organizations, as well as the enterprises and institutions established by them, may hire citizens as workers and employees.

Wages and other conditions of labor performed by a worker are determined by the religious organization on a consent basis with the worker, and are indicated in a labor contract. The religious organization is obliged to register the labor contract according to established procedure and make the prescribed withholdings.

The same legislation applies to citizens working in religious organizations under a labor contract as to citizens working in and employed by state and public enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Income earned from work in religious organizations, at religious enterprises and institutions, and income received by citizens, including clergymen, is subject to taxation according to the rates established for workers and other employees.

**Article 30. Taxation of Religious Organizations**

Asset and financial donations received by religious organizations, as well as all types of monetary contributions from citizens, are not subject to taxation.

Profits from production activity based on assets of religious organizations, with the exception of funds allocated for charitable or cultural-educational purposes, are taxed in accordance with legislation of the Russian Federation, through procedure established for enterprises of social organizations.

**Article 31. Social Security and Social Insurance for Citizens Working in Religious Organizations**

Citizens, including clergymen, who work in religious organizations and at religious enterprises and institutions are entitled to social security and social insurance on a par with workers and other employees of state and public enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

To these ends, religious organizations, and their enterprises and institutions, effect payroll deductions to the funds for state social insurance and social security according to procedure and in amounts as prescribed for social organizations.

A state pension is designated and paid out to all citizens working in religious organizations, and their enterprises and institutions, in accordance with legislation on general principles.

**Article 32. Disposition of Assets of Religious Organizations Which Have Ceased Their Activity**

When the activity of a religious organization has ceased, assets afforded to its use by a state, public, or other organization, or by private individuals, are returned to their previous owner.

Upon cessation of activity of a religious organization, disposition of its assets is effected in accordance with its charter (regulations) and existing legislation.

In the absence of legal succession, assets are transferred to the ownership of the state.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

House of the RSFSR Soviets, Moscow, 25 October 1990.

**Kazakh Rayon Official Welcomes Aral, Semipalatinsk Migrants**

91US0023A Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh 10 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Rakhymbek Muqanuly Zhumaqulov, first secretary of the Lenin Rayon Party Committee, Kustanay Oblast, recorded by Anwarbek Awyelbekov: "I Will Get Land, If Vacant Lands Remain"]

[Excerpts] [Awyelbekov] One of my friends, upon hearing that I intended to make a trip towards your people, joked saying: "Indeed, my kinsman, I have heard that you intend to travel to 'Little Russia.'" It is true that I recalled these words as I set foot on the territory of this oblast. Except for the single sovkhos "Yzynqol" you manage, the other fourteen enterprises are called "Arzamas," "Bawman," "Yershov," "Kalinin," "Kiev," "Kuybyshev," "Kirov," "K. Marks," "Novopokrovskiy," "Petrovskiy," "Presnogrokov," "Rosiya," "Suvorov," "Chapayev." In addition it would seem as if the small numbers of the representatives of the local nationality in this area would also be a reason why my friend said what he did. Since this is an issue frequently discussed recently, I would like to begin the discussion here.

[Zhumaqulov] This is indeed one of the problems very much on the minds of local nationality people these days. It would be superfluous to discuss the reasons why such things have come to pass. The reasons are clear not just to you and me, but to all the broad masses as a result of the most recent years of glasnost. In my view, what republic a given region belongs to, or what people lives there should not be known and recognized through the larger map of our union, but through the way of life of a people, its traditions and customs, its culture and language. Unfortunately, this is not the way things are in our part of the world. The destructive wave constituted



by an avalanche of colonists who have come from outside for various reasons for many years has been able to obscure the image of the local nationality. But while it is indeed proper to recall the past frequently, our future must benefit the direction in which we are aiming. However, let me raise the question of what we should do in the future. It is not possible to answer the question with just a few words. As has been stated in this connection above, we must not only know how to develop the language, traditions and general culture of our people, but also how to involve ourselves amidst our daily lives. There is nothing easy about this for the northern areas of Kazakhstan. In this connection, I should not fail to mention that we have our complaints about famous writers and arts figures. Each week, each month they come one after the other and take up position before the people. When they do so they would be great spiritual props of the people. They appear and have a lot to say, and afterwards they have a single meeting with the people. Can this be of much real use in acquainting the people well with culture, literature and art?

Now let us turn to place names. This is something we must discuss. I want to emphasize the problem: under conditions now, the people living in an area decide what names are to be assigned inhabited areas. If we do not seek new ways of getting out of this problem, it is doubtful if we can bring to pass changes now prospective. If we take the view that place names are the historical traces of our people, it is shameful for us today to reject them in the name of convenience. In essence, even if the proportionate numbers of those migrating in from abroad is dominant in a given place, they have no moral right whatever to change local place names. The reason is that while there is solidarity, friendship and mutual respect, there is no masterless, vacant land. Thus, in order to look into all aspects of such circumstances, and to avoid various misunderstandings, this issue must be resolved officially through the issuance of a special resolution of the higher organs of our republic. This is because the issue of the historical names of our lands is one which must be raised urgently at the state level. In addition, if this matter so urgent for the future of our people is taken in hand by those in high places, it will become possible to accomplish needed work on a republic-wide basis. The practical experience of life has shown that, whoever it is, there is need for a reliable basis if resolute measures are to be carried out.

[Anwarbek Awyelbekov] Rakhymbek Muqanuly, I cannot help but think, based upon what you have said, that you are not proposing that one "should regard the whole matter as hopeless and wait for those above to decide." This is because some 28 percent of 39,000 people in the rayon are representatives of the local nationality. It is no secret that if the question under discussion is to find a proper solution, this issue must truthfully cast its shadow at a certain level. In addition, it is clear that chiefs of local soviets, who play a special role in organizational efforts, are the movers and shakers for those questions raised by

the masses. In any case, we cannot say it is proper to remain impotent, complaining of the difficulties while refusing to take a step. When the situation is so weighted against us, can there be any other way than taking an active role?

[Zhumaqulov] To tell the bitter truth of it, is this not on account of the fact that problems associated with issues recently raised, of land and place names, arise out of the comparatively small numbers of the representatives of the local nationality? At present, it would seem suitable to consider ways of increasing proportions of representatives of the local nationality. But this is not something which can be accomplished in a short period of time or without difficulty. None the less, it would be proper to waste no more time, and to press forward immediately in this matter. It would seem as if the time has come to say what has long been on our minds, has occupied our thoughts. I ask that, as we express these ideas, you inform your readers about them. The people of our Lenin Rayon are involved with animal husbandry, along with agriculture. In my view, if our relatives living in the Aral and Semipalatinsk areas were to migrate and seek new homes, it would be possible for us to accommodate up to 200 families in this rayon. We would be able to provide them with shelter, animals and with a quantity of financial support necessary for them at the time of their arrival. It would be possible to provide one or two cows to each family, even free. Thereby, not only would our rayon suffer no loss, but they would become very useful citizens for us.

[Awyelbekov] Could we please go into what you are proposing in more detail. You say that you would receive Kazakhs migrating from the Aral and Semipalatinsk regions. Allow me to read a letter which has been received by our editors.

[Zhumaqulov] By all means read the letter...

[Awyelbekov] "We have read in your paper that a "Homeland" [Atameken] Society has been formed to concern itself with efforts to bring Kazakhs living abroad home. We think that this is wonderful. We have waited for you to say such words. These are things we have worried about for some time. What we ask of you is the question of what oblast in Kazakhstan it would be proper for us to settle in. More specifically, we want to know whether or not we will be provided with housing and with work where we go. I am, for example, a teacher. Will moving expenses be paid for teachers? We await your full answer." Thus wrote a citizen called Sarsenbay Narymbetov who sent his letter from Topyraqqala near Dzuzhba City in Khorezm Oblast of the Uzbek SSR. As we see it, our relatives living in areas outside the republic wish to return. Could you not resettle persons coming from other areas besides the Aral and Semipalatinsk areas.

[Zhumaqulov] To be sure I have opened my heart in particular to the people suffering from disaster in the

Aral and Semipalatinsk areas, but we will not discriminate against anyone. To tell the truth, if we only know that they are coming, we will be happy to receive anyone from anywhere. And if I had nothing to say about work placement or moving expenses, we will help. There are some 55 villages on rayon enterprises. For the past two years we have been carrying out such urgent work as building good quality roads and housing, laying down sewers. With each passing day conditions are getting better in these areas.

**Declining Population Growth in Ukraine Analyzed**  
91UN0340A Kiev POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA  
in Russian No 17, Sep 90 pp 61-66

[Article by N. Borisenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Statistics: "The Demographic Situation in the Republic"]

[Text] The demographic processes taking place in the Ukraine are an important integral part of the socio-economic development of the republic, which is characterized today by the cardinal restructuring of all spheres of the life of society. Like a drop of water, they reflect the difficulties and troubles of our existence and forward movement. For their comprehensive and profound study, the concentration of the efforts of statisticians and science are necessary, as well as every conceivable assistance in this by the organs of legislative and executive power.

The data of the All-Union Census, conducted in January 1989, will also serve the study and solution of a whole range of extremely complex demographic problems. In contrast to past censuses, the last one not only produced a demographic and socio-political characterization of the population of the Ukraine, but also reflected its housing conditions.

**The Population Growth Trend**

As the data show, the demographic situation continues to remain complex. One observes a significant aging of the population, a further reduction in the birth rate, a high level of mortality, an outflow of the population from the rural locality, the growth of urbanization, and a high divorce rate.

There are many reasons for this, and for this reason it is expedient to dwell only on the chief ones. What is the Ukraine today? Its territory is 603,700 square kilometers, or 2.7 percent of the entire USSR. The republic accounts for 17 percent of the industrial and 22 percent of the agricultural potential, and 18 percent of the population. At the present time, an average of 928 apartments per day are turned over for operation, or approximately as much housing is being put into operation every three days as is needed for a city with a population of over 9,000 people. Every day 1,900 children are born, 1,300 marriages are registered, and 4,300 improve their housing conditions.

The size of the present population of the Ukrainian SSR on 12 January 1989 came to 51.7 million, including a permanent population of 51.5 million people. This is the fifth place after the FRG, Italy, Great Britain, and France. The population density per square kilometer reaches an average of 85.6 people, with a central European average of 67.

In terms of its composition, the Ukraine is a multinational republic. More than 110 nationalities and ethnic national groups. Almost three-fourths of the population (72.7 percent) are Ukrainians. During the past decade, their number grew by 930,000. The most numerous of the other nationalities are Russians, Jews, Belorussians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, Poles, and Hungarians. Almost seven million Ukrainians, or 15 percent of their total number for the Soviet Union as a whole, live outside the boundaries of the Ukrainians within the limits of the USSR. In particular, Ukrainians in the RSFSR come to 4.4 million, in Kazakhstan—897,000, in Moldova—600,000, in Belorussia—291,000, in Uzbekistan—153,000, and in Kirghizia—108,000.

During the past 10 years, the total size of the Ukrainian SSR increased by almost two million, or by 3.9 percent. At the same time, this is the lowest growth rate among all the union republic for this period.

The analysis shows that during the past 30 years the average annual population growth rates in the republic systematically diminished. If during 1959-1969 the growth was equal to 1.08 percent, or 478,000 persons a year, already during the subsequent decade—0.60 percent (292,000 people), and during 1979-1988—only 0.39 percent (195,000 people). Judging by the prognosis, during the next 10 years the trend of its reduction will continue and will come to 0.19 percent by 1995, and 0.16 percent by the year 2000.

The census fixed population growth in 19 oblasts and a reduction—in seven. Population decreased most of all in Vinnitsa, Chernigov, Zhitomir, Sumy, and Khmel'nitskiy oblasts.

The formation of the size of the population in the 1980's took place mainly through natural growth, which accounted for 92 percent (1.8 million people) in the total growth.

At the same time, migration exerted an appreciable influence on population growth both in the republic as a whole and in individual regions. In particular, in Poltava Oblast the entire population growth is secured through migration inflow, in Kharkov Oblast and in the city of Kiev—59 and 58 percent respectively. Significant is the influence of migration on the formation of the size of the population in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, and Crimean oblasts, where the proportion of migrants came to 41-48 percent of the total increase. Moreover, in the Crimea the magnitude of the migration inflow in 1989 increased to 77 percent, basically through the return of Crimean Tatars, whose number exceeds 90,000 people today.

The reduction of the size of the population in seven oblasts is caused by the significant departure of their inhabitants outside their limits and the absence of natural increase (Chernigov, the Sumy area), where the number of those who died exceeded the number of those who were born. It should be noted that the absence of natural population increase is characteristic today of the rural locality of 16 oblasts. It was called forth, along with the migration outflow, by the large proportion of people of older than working age among the population. This is why the question of reducing the migration of rural inhabitants is as serious as never before.

Urbanization continues steadily in the republic. At the present time, more than two-thirds of the population of the Ukraine live in urban localities, while in 1940 the village accounted for such a number. The increase in the number of urban residents was called forth by the rapid development of industry, by the expansion of industrial and housing construction. However, gradually the average growth rates of the number of urban residents are diminishing significantly. If during 1959 to 1969 they were equal to 2.7 percent, during 1979-1989 they came to only 1.3 percent.

During the past 10 years, the number of cities increased to 28, at the beginning of 1989 they already numbered 434. There were 40 of them with a population of 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, 10 with more than half a million inhabitants, including five with a population of more than a million inhabitants: Kharkov, Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, and Kiev, where 2.6 million people live.

During the 1980's a significant reduction in the number of rural inhabitants is observed. According to the data of the census, they number 17.1 million people, or 11 percent less (2.5 million) than in 1979, while for the USSR as a whole their reduction comes to 0.9 percent. The proportion of inhabitants of the village in the total size of the population decreased from 39 to 33 percent.

The reduction of the rural population was caused basically by migration to cities, which accounts for 83 percent, or 1.7 million people.

There are, of course, many reasons for such an alarming phenomenon, and among them unsatisfactory conditions of everyday life are not the least important. At the present time, there are no schools and preschool institutions, clubs, houses of culture, hospitals, medical and obstetrical centers, local post offices, and baths, etc. in many villages, hard-surface roads are lacking. Up to now, only seven percent of the villages have natural gas, and 15 percent—water supply systems. More than 1,100 rural settlements are using imported water.

There is hope that, with the realization of the government "Integrated Program for the Social Reorganization of the Villages of the Ukrainian SSR for the 12th Five-Year Plan and for the Period to the Year 2000" the

situation will improve. The last decrees on the village adopted by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will also be conducive to this.

#### Why Is the Birth Rate Falling?

The birth rate, as before, remains a serious problem. Its highest level in the past decade was registered in 1983, when there were 16 births per 1,000 inhabitants, which was connected with the implementation of measures to strengthen state assistance to families with children. But beginning in 1984, the level of the birth rate has been steadily falling, which is the result of intra-family regulation of the number of children. At the present time, this trend remains.

That situation is exacerbated also by the entrance into the age group with the greatest fertility (20-29 years old) of the small contingents of women born in the 1960's and by the reduction of their proportion in the total number of women of child-bearing ages. As a result, in 1989 there were only 13.3 births per 1,000 people. This is the lowest birth rate level in the Ukraine for all these years.

The steady reduction of the birth rate led to the fact that during the last 20 years the simple renewal of generations has not been secured in the republic, especially in the urban locality, where the average number of children born in 1988 came to 1.9 children instead of the required 2.2.

The low birth rate is caused above all by the high level of employment of women in social labor and the lagging behind in the development of the social and consumer infrastructure. For these reasons, many families limit themselves to one child or even put off its birth. The number of abortions is large. In 1989, for example, more than a million of them were carried out, which exceeds the number of births by a factor of 1.5. As we see, a rather sad statistic.

At present the expenditures of time for keeping the household of women workers and employees is 3.4 times higher than among men, and among kolkhoz women—4.8 times, on days off—2.2 and 3.4 times respectively. Among women workers and employees. For women workers and employees, two hours and 18 minutes remain in the work day and six hours and 18 minutes on days off, and for a kolkhoz woman still less—one hour and 43 minutes and four hours and 58 minutes respectively. Because of this, women workers and employees devote an average of 16 minutes a working day to the upbringing of their children, and 26 minutes on days off, and kolkhoz women—13 and 21 minutes.

Thus, the double load on women—in production and in the household, the poorly thought-through organization of their labor, the shortcomings in the protection of their health, and the social and consumer disorders seriously complicate the life of women, have an effect on their health, the situation in the family, and the upbringing of the children.



The still high infant mortality in the Ukraine exerts a negative influence on the growth of the population. In 1989, about 13 children under one year of age died per 1,000 born. This indicator is almost twice as low as for the USSR as a whole. At the same time, it is higher than in Belorussia, Latvia and Lithuania, and exceeds by a factor of more than two the lowest level in the world—five to six deaths per 1,000 born—in Japan, Sweden, and Finland.

The present level of infant mortality in many respects depends on the way of life customs of the parents, especially the mothers, the employment of women in work with harmful conditions of work, the state of medical service, and the material base of medical institutions.

In support of what I have said, I will cite a number of examples.

In 1989 there were 39,500 medical and obstetrical beds for pregnant women and women in childbirth. The protection of maternity in the republic is secured by a state system of specialized institutions: Maternity homes, consulting rooms for women, etc. Moreover, medical assistance is extended free of charge to the woman and mother, as to the entire population.

However, a spot survey of 42 maternity homes, conducted by the organs of state statistics showed that in 16 of them the area for the delivery bed came to three to six square meters with the norm being eight square meters, in 33—there are six and more persons in one ward, in 20—there is a shortage of beds, in 18—gynecological chairs, and in 16—katalki [not further identified]. Of 722 women surveyed, who were in these institutions, 333 (46 percent) assessed their work as not entirely satisfactory or as unsatisfactory. Of them more than 70 percent noted the bad supply of linen and swaddling clothes, almost every second woman—the poor organization and equipment the facilities, approximately 40 percent—the inattentive attitude of physicians and medium-level medical personnel, and every third—the absence of necessary medicines.

In spite of the instructions of the directive organs concerning the necessity of the release of women workers from night shifts, at the present time every third woman worker works in the third and fourth night shift in industry, and in enterprises of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Grain Products their proportion comes to 66.7 percent, the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Construction Materials 32.3 percent, and the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Light Industry—11.6 percent.

No less alarming is the fact that the level of the number of marriages remains low and the number of divorces—high. As the data show, marriages are becoming less durable: The number of divorced and separated on the average per 1,000 person of the corresponding sex according to the census of 1989 came to 47 for men and 79 for women as against 29 and 67 in 1979 respectively. There is an increase in the proportion of repeated

marriages: Among women it increased from 18 percent in 1980 to 25—in 1988, among men—correspondingly from 20 to 27 percent. But such marriages are less fertile. More than one-third of the divorces are accounted for by young marriages that have lasted for less than five years.

Because of the break-up of marriages, children are deprived of one of the parents. In 1988, 112,000 (60 percent) of the couples that broke up had common children. As a result of this, 146,000 children were left to be brought up in incomplete families, the overwhelming majority of whom (124,000) are inhabitants of urban settlements. Such a situation leads in many cases to children's neglect and, in the final analysis—to juvenile delinquency.

The level of the birth rate is also affected by the imperfection of the system of state assistance and benefits, which does not secure the proper material well-being of the families. Not coincidentally, this is why the number of families with many children is declining. During the past year, the republic's statistical organs surveyed 60,200 families of workers, employees and kolkhoz workers. Only 1,944, or 3.2 percent, of them, were families with many children (three and more). The main reason for refusing to have many children is the reduction of material prosperity with the birth of every new child. With five children present, the income, as a rule, does not exceed 50 rubles per person.

The housing problem, too, exerts a negative influence on the formation and development of the family. In almost every third family of workers and employees surveyed, and in every fifth family of kolkhoz farmers, there are less than five square meters of living space per family members. At the beginning of 1990, 101,600 families with many children in the cities of the republic had been waiting for an improvement of their housing conditions, with 5,300 of them—for more than 10 years. All in all, 2.5 million families—270,000 of them newly-married couples—were listed in the housing register.

### Negative Consequences

As before, the problem of population mortality, which beginning in the 1960's has been steadily increasing, remains an acute problem. For the sake of objectivity it must be said that in 1989 its level decreased somewhat—from 12.1 to 11.6 per 1,000 inhabitants compared to the year 1985. However, it exceeds the indicator for 1960 by a factor of 1.7. It must, unfortunately, be stated that mortality in the Ukraine is the highest in the Union, except Latvia (12.1) and Estonia (11.8). By the end of the current decade its increase to 12.6 is expected.

The increase of mortality is caused to a significant extent by the aging of the population, that is by the increase in the proportion of persons of elderly age, as well as by the high mortality of persons of working age, especially among men (the number of dead per 100,000 men of working age in 1970 came to 523, in 1979—681, and 1989—662 persons).



The number of persons of retirement age is increasing. During the past decade, it increased by 17 percent (with a growth of the entire population by four percent). Their proportion in the entire population comes to 21 percent, as against 19 in 1979. This process is especially intensive in the rural locality, where persons of retirement age account for 28.2 percent, while in urban settlements they constitute 17.6 percent.

In ten oblasts (Kharkov, Kiev, Zhitomir, Kirovograd, Vinnitsa, Cherkassy, Khmel'nitskiy, Poltava, Sumy, and Chernigov), this category of the population constitutes 30-40 percent. Not coincidentally, this is why the mortality here is the highest—16-20 dead per 1,000 of the rural population. As a result of the high mortality and low birth rate in these, and also in Lugansk Oblast, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Ternopol, and Donetsk oblasts, a natural decrease of the rural population is observed. In the majority of them—since 1975, but in 1989 an analogous process is established also in the rural locality of the Odessa area.

The difficult demographic situation exerts a negative influence on the formation of manpower resources. In the past decade, there was no increase in the population of working age—the fundamental component of manpower resources. If during 1970-1978 this category of the population in the republic increased by 2.6 million people, or by 10 percent, during 1979-1988 it decreased by 84,000, or by 0.3 percent.

Such a situation is the result, above all, of the change of generations: In the 1980's, the small contingents of young people began to enter into working age which were born in the mid-1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, and the large contingents born in the 1920's and 1930's began to depart beyond its limits. That this is so is apparent from the following data. The number of those who entered into working age in 1988 was nine percent (73,000) smaller than in 1979, while the number of those who left increased by 0.4 percent.

The formation of the young generations entering into working age is affected by past tendencies of the processes of natural movement, especially the birth rate. The Second World War inflicted enormous losses in this regard. It is sufficient to remember that the direct human losses inflicted by the war came to more than five million people in the republic. War led to the reduction in the number of births both during the years of the war, as well as during the years when the women born during the war years entered into active child-bearing age, and then the generations of their daughters. The insignificant migration from other union republics could not compensate for the losses connected with the change of generations and the mortality of the able-bodied population. This called forth the reduction of the population of working age during the past decade in many oblasts.

Analysis shows that everywhere there was an increase in the demographic load indicator, which is determined by the relation of the number of persons of invalid age to

the able-bodied. In 1989 there were 791 of invalid age per 1,000 person of working age (9.6 more than in 1979). An especially tense situation has developed in the rural locality, where this indicator increased by 10.3 percent (1,017 persons). Thus, the number of those not able to work in the villages increased the number of those able to work, with more than half of them being persons of retirement age.

According to the data of the prognosis, the trend of the reduction of reproduction of the labor force will be preserved in the beginning five-year plan. Its number will decrease annually by approximately 31,000 people.

The census establishes an improvement in the correlation of the sexes, expressing itself in the increase of the proportion of men in the total number of the republic's population. Today their proportion comes to 46.2 percent (23.9 million), and that of women—53.8 percent (27.8 million people), as against 45.7 and 54.3 percent respectively—in 1979.

#### For the Improvement of the Demographic Situation

The measures carried out in recent years in the republic to increase the standard of living of the population have played an appreciable role in the containment of the negative demographic processes. Thus, the average monthly wage of workers and employees in 1989 reached R218.5 and increased during the four years of the 12th Five Year Plan by 25.6 percent. R32 billion rubles were paid out from the public consumption funds, which is R6.1 billion more than in 1985. About 50 percent of this sum (14.7 billion) were expended for social security and social insurance.

As of October 1989, in accordance with the Law of the USSR "On Urgent Measures to Improve the Provision of Pensions and Social Services to the Population," the minimum pensions of 5.6 million pensioners were increased. The annual expenditures for these purposes will now come to R1.3 billion.

More than R8 billion, or 26 percent more than in 1985, have been directed into the development of education from public consumption funds. The expenditures for public health and culture have been increased by 23.9 percent and have reached R4.3 billion. At the same time, according to preliminary calculations of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Labor and the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Statistics, the subsistence wage in our republic in 1989 prices comes today to approximately 100 rubles. One-fifth of the population of the Ukrainian SSR (10.4 million people) have incomes below this level. According to calculations, for additional payments to them up to the subsistence level, no less than an additional R2.6 billion a year (without regard to the increase in prices) are needed.

Such a situation, naturally, cannot but have an effect on the development of the democratic processes.

A serious problem, on which the health and life of future generations depends, is the extremely tense ecological situation in the republic. A number of measures have been put into effect for its improvement, as the result of which during the four years of the 12th Five Year Plan the volume of emissions of harmful substances into the atmosphere was reduced by 1.7 million tons, or by 14.2 percent. To a significant extent, this was promoted by the change in the structure of the fuel balance of the republic—an increase in the share of natural gas and a reduction in sulphur-containing fuel oils.

Nevertheless, in 15 cities a high level of air pollution is observed. In particular, this pertains to Donetsk, Krivoy Rog, Dnepropetrovsk, Mariupol, and Odessa, where pollution significantly exceeds the sanitary norms. In spite of the measures for the reduction of the pollution of water resources, thanks to which the discharge of 300,000 cubic meters of unpurified drainage was averted, the state of many waterways calls forth justified concern.

The calculated damages from pollution of the environment, according to data of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, in the first six months of the current year alone came to almost R18 million.

Enormous damage to the population of the republic and the environment was done by the catastrophe at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station. For the elimination of its consequences many years and billions of rubles are required. It was no coincidence therefore that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet declared the territory of the Ukraine an ecological disaster zone. The problem of the improvement of the environment and the rational use of natural resources can be solved only through the unification of the efforts of enterprises and organizations, government and legislative organs.

The inauspicious demographic situation in the republic requires the adoption of urgent measures, the development and implementation of a Comprehensive Program for the Solution of the Urgent Problems of the Population, which would meet the long-term requirements for the socio-economic development of the Ukrainian SSR. Such complexes of measures may include, in our view:

1. The improvement of the conditions for the combination, by women, of professional employment with maternity and the adaptation of labor legislation to the needs of demographic policy. In particular, it is important to limit the use of women's labor in night shifts, to free them from heavy manual labor, to expand the practice of the use of an incomplete work day or incomplete work week, work at home, etc.
2. The expansion of the system of preschool institutions for children, the organization everywhere of the new type of "school-kindergarten" institutions, the development of a network of special institutions for children that have

anomalies in their development, as well as sanatorium-type facilities for children, and the improvement of their material-technical provision.

3. The creation of the proper conditions for the formation and functioning of families, the material safeguarding of maternity and childhood, as well as the development of the system of the social protection of the family. It is expedient, for example, to fundamentally improve the structure and functioning of the specialized "Family service", to secure broad glasnost in its activity and, on this basis, to attain an improvement in the training of young people for family life and assistance to troubled families.

4. A radical improvement in the system of health care, the increase in capital investments for the construction of new types of medical complexes, children's, childbirth assistance, and medical-disease prevention institutions, their equipment with modern diagnostic and medical apparatus, the provision with medicines, and the increase of the qualification level of medical personnel.

5. The most rapid solution of the urgent problems of housing, implementation of the "Housing-2000" Program, as well as the further development of the services sphere.

6. The improvement of the system of the placing and use of manpower resources with regard to the requirements of preserving, in so doing, the normal living conditions of people.

The fundamental social and economic transformations now being realized, which are aimed at every conceivable improvement of the life and activity of man, and his spiritual and physical development, will serve as a powerful stimulus for the positive solution of the most complex demographic problems in the Ukraine.

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### Migration from Latvia for 1989, 1990 Compared

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[Report by the Latvian SSR State Committee for Statistics: "Basic Results of the Migration of the Population During the First Half Year of 1990"]

[Text] Realizing the Measures set forth by the decree of the Government and the LRSPS [Latvian Republican Council of Trade Unions] No 46 of 14 February 1989 on putting a stop to the unjustified mechanical growth of the republic's population and the regulation of the migration processes, during the first six months of the current year the consolidation of the positive changes in the volumes and flows of migration, which manifested themselves in the past year, were secured. One can consider as the chief result of the implementation of the decree the fact that on the whole there was no migration growth of the population from the other republics of the

USSR: The total number of citizens who arrived from these republics in Latvia during the first half year was 2,900 people less than the number of those who left Latvia for other republics of the USSR. By comparison with the first half year of 1989, the volumes of inter-republic migration are characterized by the following data:

	Registered from Other Republics, People	Registered to Leave for Other Republics, People	Migration Growth (+), Outflow (-), People
1st half of 1989	8,864	11,657	-2,793
1st half of 1990	7,198	10,124	-2,926

The figures cited refute the fabrications of some public organizations about the supposedly increasing scales of the departure of the population from Latvia.

Although for the Russian Federation as a whole the migration balance with Latvia is negative (-1,129), some regions of the RSFSR still "secure" growth of the size of the population of our republic. Among them Murmansk Oblast (+97 people), Khabarovsk Kray (+69 people), Tyumen Oblast (+63 people), the Buryat ASSR (+58 people), Maritime Kray (+50 people), and Magadan Oblast (+47 people).

During the first six months of the current year there also was no migration increase of the population in the city of Riga, the capital of Latvia. At the same time, it is necessary to note that 37 percent of the citizens who arrived during the indicated period in Latvia from other republics were registered in Riga.

The results of the inter-republic (including inter-state) migration for the first half year of 1990, broken down by republican cities and rural rayons, are characterized by the following data:

	Citizens Registered from Other Republics and from Abroad	Citizens Registered to Leave for Other Republics and Abroad	Migration Growth (+), Outflow (-), People
Riga	3,170	5,010	-1,840
Ventspils	237	223	+14
Daugavpils	742	664	78
Yelgava	182	274	-92
Diyepaya	740	1,069	-329

Rezekne	81	42	+39
Yurmala	105	195	-90
Rayons:			
Aluksnenskiy	81	180	-99
Balskiy	47	69	-22
Bauskiy	100	189	-89
Valmierskiy	63	121	-58
Ventspilskiy	76	105	-29
Gulbenskiy	36	85	-49
Daugavpilskiy	204	190	+14
Dobelskiy	279	286	-7
Yekabpilskiy	245	266	-21
Yelgavskiy	62	129	-67
Kraslavskiy	165	171	-6
Kuldigskiy	24	88	-64
Liyepayskiy	270	267	+3
Limbazhskiy	33	103	-70
Ludzenskiy	86	157	-71
Madonskiy	70	138	-68
Ogrskiy	118	169	-51
Preylskiy	62	85	-23
Rezeknenskiy	62	86	-24
Rizhskiy	462	473	-11
Saldusskiy	59	98	-39
Stuchkinskiy	50	68	-18
Talsinskiy	38	115	-77
Tukumskiy	107	179	-72
Tsesisskiy	81	179	-98

As is apparent from the data cited, during the first half year mechanical population growth through inter-republic and inter-state migration was allowed in the cities of Daugavpils, Rezekne, and Ventspils, as well as in Daugavpilskiy and Liyepayskiy rayons.

The data mentioned are indicative of the necessity that in the future the state organs and the executive committees of the local Soviets, as well as the public organizations must continue and intensify the work aimed at the reduction of the unfounded migration growth of the population size of Latvia, promoting in that way the creation of favorable conditions for the satisfaction of the social and everyday needs for the indigenous population of all the nationalities of our republic during this difficult stage of social renewal.



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